

LIFE AND WORKS
of
ABDUL QADIR BEDIL

by
Dr. ABDUL GHANI, M.A., Ph.D.

PUBLISHERS UNITED LTD.
176, ANARKALI, LAHORE.

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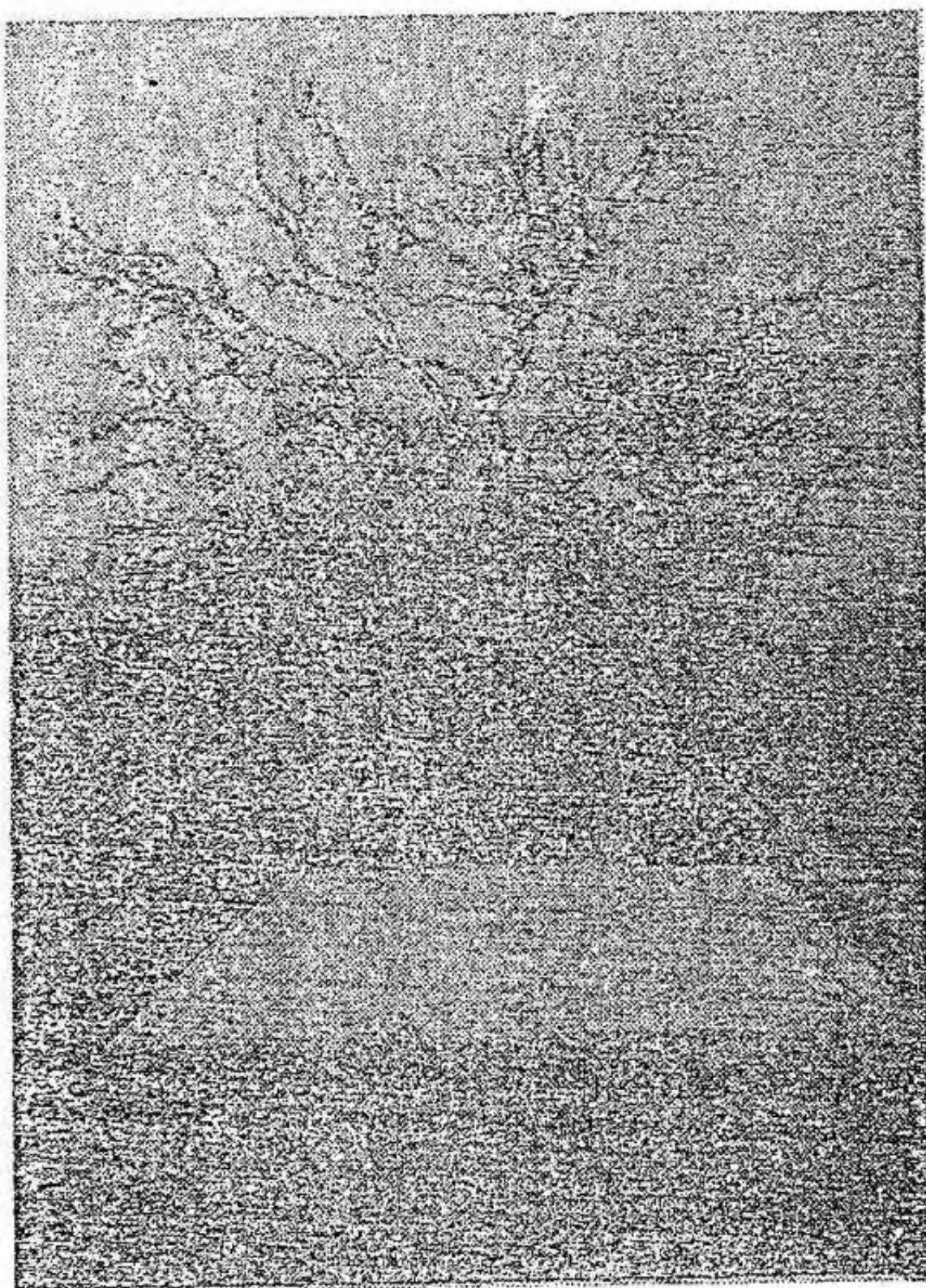
1960

To

My Kind Teacher

Dr. Muhammad Baqir

M.A., Ph.D. (London)



BEDIL'S TOMB (I) IN DELHI
(Courtesy Āqā-e-Sarwar Khān-e-Goyā)

Preface

GRADUAL disintegration of the Mughal Empire, after the death of Aurangzib in 1707 A.D., has prejudicially affected Muslims of this subcontinent in more than one way. Few persons realise that their great cultural heritage in particular suffered indescribably due to the catastrophic happenings that took place during the unfortunate rule of the later Mughals (1707-1857 A.D.). The institutions of the Muslims ceased to exist; the foundations of the society, they had built so laboriously since Muḥammad bin Qāsim entered India in 712 A.D., were wrecked; the arts, they cherished most, were destroyed; and the valuable manuscripts of the works, they produced in India, were either reduced to rubbish or taken away by the Britishers and other Europeans. It is a sad story; and when the history of this period comes to be written, after full realisation of this cultural loss, the world would painfully know what the end of Mughal Rule in India meant to Muslims.

It is in this background that we have to study the *Life and Works* of 'Abdul Qādir Bedil—the great Persian Poet who was born in India in 1644 A.D., during the glorious reign of Shāh Jahān, and died in 1720 A.D., when the Mughal Empire was tottering under the imbecile Emperor Muḥammad Shāh. Bedil's career at this critical juncture has done him much harm. In the confusion that followed the dissolution of the Mughal Empire, most of the works of our Poet, like those of many other writers hinted above, were either destroyed or taken away, and even to this day we search here in vain for them. Whatever is found is absolutely meagre and quite incomplete. This explains to a great extent why very few people know Bedil. Moreover, soon after the establishment of the British Rule in India, the impact of the Western civilisation turned the eyes of the Muslims to Europe, and they got no time to consider what they had lost due to the historic disruption of their society in this subcontinent. Hence Bedil, too, came to be almost totally neglected.

Still, there were some writers who talked now and then about the great contribution made by Bedil to Persian literature. Even eminent poets like Ghālib and Iqbāl sought inspiration from him, and

this was a pointer to the fact that a rich source lay untapped. I think myself very fortunate that gradually I got interested in the Great Poet, and, notwithstanding my humble attainments, I made up my mind to do research and to write a thesis about him. But his works were not available in the market. Nor could I get adequate help from any library in the country. Being disappointed from these quarters I entered into correspondence with the distinguished scholars and well-known writers. The reply I got from Niyāz Fatahpuri was very discouraging. He said it was not possible to procure Bedil's works, and, if procured somehow or other, age-long single-handed efforts would produce no results, as "Bedil is a boundless and fathomless Ocean." He further asked me to spend some four or five years with him, and he would tell me the few things he knew about Bedil. I think this rebuff was enough to extinguish the flame that had been kindled in my bosom by the ardent lovers of the Poet. But I was not disappointed and continued my efforts with redoubled vigour. Fortunately, Sayyid Sulaimān Nadvi, Maulānā Ḥasan Nizāmī, Maulānā Ghulām Rasūl Mehr, and Dr. Sayyid Muḥammad 'Abdullah very kindly encouraged me and made some very good suggestions. I was advised to turn my attention to Afghānistān where Bedil is extremely popular. Now it was a problem for me to establish contacts with the literary circles in that country, but through the never-failing courtesy of my friend, Malik Ḥabibur Raḥmān, M.A., a trader, brought for me the matchless *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, lithographed in the Ṣafdari Press, Bombay, and the admirable *Diwān-e-Bedil*, published in Kābul. With the arrival of these publications, my wishes began to materialise and I commenced studying the bulky works wholeheartedly.

Then the Panjab University granted me a scholarship, in the beginning of 1951, for making research about the Life and Works of Bedil. During those very days Āqā-e-Sarwar Khān-e-Goyā—the leading literary figure in Kābul—paid a visit to Lahore and he advised me to go to Kābul, where excellent manuscripts of Bedil's works existed and which contained material that was not found in the two books mentioned above. Consequently my kind director, Dr. Muḥammad Bāqir, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Head of the Persian Department, University of the Panjab—due to whose enlightened guidance I have been able to accomplish a most difficult task—arranged for my trip to Kābul during the summer vacation of the same year. Arrangements for my stay in the city were made by Maulānā 'Abdul Qādir, the then Charge d'Affaires, Pakistan Embassy, Kābul; and Āqā-e-Sarwar Khān-e-Goyā took me round to different libraries, and introduced me to the topmost literary persons in the city. I saw there most valuable and beautifully decorated manuscripts of Bedil's works, and copied much useful material. I discussed several

points with Afghān scholars like Sardār Faiz Muhammad Khān Zakariya, Khalīlullāh Khān Khalīlī, Professor Hāshim Shāiq Afandī, and Dr. Ans. It is a fact that but for my visit to Kābul much would have been wanting in this thesis, and my indebtedness to Kābul, therefore, is manifest in almost every chapter.

Bedil is really very popular in Afghānistān. Almost every literary person there possesses the huge *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil* of Safdari Press, Bombay, which was being sold there for Rs. 700 Afghānī. While going to Paghmān Pass (a charming hill-resort in Afghānistān—the cool pass from where River Kābul rushes down the snowclad mountains and begins to flow in the valley) with Āqā-e-Sa'īd Nafisi of Irān, who happened to be there during those days, and Āqā-e-Sarwar Khān-e-Goyā, I was wonderstruck when our chauffeur told us that he too possessed that *Kulliyāt*. Besides, I found that most of the manuscripts of Bedil's works had arrived from Bukhārā and Shahr-e-Sabz in Central Asia. Some of them were contemporary with the Poet himself. This proved that the Poet's fame had spread there during his lifetime and persisted to this day. I was told that even in the Chinese Turkistan in the East and Turkey in the West, Bedil was equally popular. People liked him for his elegant diction, novel conceits, superb mysticism, brave and sublime philosophy of life, and orthodox views. If a thorough study of the literature, produced in all the countries mentioned above, is made, one would be surprised to find that Bedil has many followers, and that he has vastly influenced literary trends and mystical speculations in those lands.

Besides the literary, mystical, and philosophical import of Bedil's works, the writers and thinkers of the modern Republics of Central Asia find inspiration from the Poet on account of his progressive ideas permeated by an anti-feudal spirit. This startling fact was made known to the world when, on the occasion of the Islamic Colloquium held in Lahore, in the first week of January 1958, Dr. Ibrahim M. Muminov, member of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, and a delegate from USSR, told in his address that Bedil is widely known in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, and modern writers like Ahmad Dānish, Furkat, Mukimi, and Asiri derived immense benefit from the Poet, and Ahmad Dānish, in particular, made a complete study of his progressive social philosophical ideas, and used them in the struggle against the tenets of the Middle Ages. Dr. Muminov told that L. Penkovski's Russian version of Bedil's poem *Kāmdī and Madan* was published in 1955 by the State Publishing House of Fiction, Moscow. He also said that, besides the lithographed editions, many manuscript copies of the Poet's works are available in Tashkand, Andjan, Samarqand, Bukhārā, Leningrad, Stalinabad, and other towns of the Soviet Middle Asiatic

Republics. The learned scholar added that Bedil's popularity among the people finds confirmation in the appearance of popular reciters, commonly known as "Bedil-Khāns."

This was about Bedil's popularity in the lands of the brave Afghāns and the robust Uzbeks and Tājiks. But, in spite of the scanty attention paid to him, it cannot be denied that, in this sub-continent too, the Poet has been a great force. Modern polished and elegant Urdu owes much to him and, as a thinker, he influenced the mystical views of Ghālib, and Iqbāl's Philosophy of Ego. Still, as I have remarked above, the vast literature that flowed out of Bedil's pen lies untapped. In this thesis I have only made hints about his different aspects—his mysticism, his philosophy of life, his social ideology, his aesthetics, etc.—and many a research scholar, therefore, can dig into this literature and bring out rich treasure. Fortunately, of late, there has been an evidence of growing interest in Bedil. In addition to the sporadic effusions of Niyāz Fatahpūrī, regular work has been done by some scholars. Dr. Ghulām Yāsīn Khān Niyāzī, M.A., Ph.D., was the first to write about the Life and Works of Bedil, in three instalments, in the *Oriental College Magazine*, in the early thirties. It was a good attempt, and, while at Kābul, I saw that the article had been translated into Persian. Then Qāzī 'Abdul Wadūd of Patna collected everything, relating to Bedil, from the manuscript copy of the second volume of Khushgū's *Safina*, and got it published in *Ma'ārif* of May and July 1942. These were all articles, but recently, in 1952, a book, entitled *Bedil*, dealing with the Poet's Philosophy of Self, was published by the Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore. Its author, Khwāja 'Ibādullah Akhtar, enjoys the honour of writing the first book on Bedil. As a fellow-worker in the same field I welcome his book. I would, however, suggest that in a future edition of the book, the learned author would remove the mistakes that have crept into the chapter dealing with the biography of Bedil, and also he would not let it remain sketchy and jejune. Moreover, enunciation of the Poet's views about paradise needs reconsideration. A thorough and deeper study of Bedil discloses that by paradise he means 'Self,' and not this world as stated by Khwāja Shāhib. In addition to this, improvement at several other places, especially in the matter of the treatment of the subject, is desirable. After the publication of this book one gets the heartening news that a youthful scholar, Mr. Maḥmūd Ahmad Nāzīr, is making a comparative study of Bedil and Iqbāl.

My thesis is now before the literary world and the scholars would judge its value. I would, however, like to submit that it has been written after a research of full seven years, and I have not given a separate history of Bedil's period, but I have tried to show

how the Poet moved and lived during his times. No unnecessary details have been given, and if, for instance, some facts about Shāh Jahān have been given at a greater length, they would be found to have a profound relation with the development of the Poet's personality. While speaking about Bedil's Works, I have avoided *repetitions*, because I did not like to bore my readers. Moreover, I have quoted Bedil at every place to make my statements authentic and full of interest. The final chapter shows that Bedil's Life and his Works are intimately connected with each other.

With these remarks I finish this prologue, and pray that may this humble work, which owes its vitality to my lifeblood, contribute towards making Bedil known to the world.

‘ABDUL GHANI



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Transliteration

ا = a	خ = <u>kh</u>	ع = ' (e.g. Ma'bad معبد Shujā' شجاع Ābid عابد)
آ = ā	د = d	
إ = i	ذ = <u>ḏ</u>	غ = <u>gh</u>
ب = b	ز = z	ف = f
پ = p	ر = r	ق = q
ت = t	ز = z	ک = k
ث = <u>ṭ</u>	س = s	ل = l
ث = s	ش = <u>sh</u>	م = m
ج = j	ص = s	ن = n
چ = <u>ch</u>	ض = z	و = w
ح = h	ط = t	ه = h
	ظ = z	ی = y

For vowels study the following examples :

أور = Aur	میت = Mayyit
اُون = Ūn	اِيسا = Aisa
اول = Awwal	مردن = Murdān
مرد کامل = Mard-e-Kāmil	ایقان = Iqān
دوست و دشمن = Dost-o-Dushman	

L I F E

Origin and Early Life

VARIOUS factors operate in moulding the personality of an individual, and the part played by race in this connection is not insignificant. Racial characteristics, secretly and silently, lay down the foundations and then the superstructure of personality gradually develops under the influence of environment and education.

In the case of our poet, 'Abdul Qādir Bedil, his biographers¹ agree that he belonged to the hardy, warlike Mughul race. But when we want to know his tribe we find ourselves face to face with a baffling situation, because his biographers do not agree with one another on this subject. Husain Qulī Khān 'Azimābādī, the celebrated author of the *Tazkirah Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, says² that the poet belonged to the Barlās tribe. As far as I know, no other Tazkirah-writer contributes to this view. Khān Ārzū,³ followed by Rieu,⁴ writes that the poet was an Arlāt. There is yet a third view which is shared by many Tazkirah-writers,⁵ all of whom state that Bedil was an Arlās. To a superficial reader it would appear plausible that Barlās, Arlāt, and Arlās mean one and the same thing, but careful research reveals a totally different story.

The word Barlās means brave and of noble lineage.⁶ This title

1. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mirātul Khayāl*, p. 337; Khushgū, *Safina-e-Khushgū* in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942; Husain Qulī Khān, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, I, Ms., f. 203a; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-'Āmirah*, p. 132.

2. Husain Qulī Khān, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, I, Ms., f. 203a.

3. Ārzū, Sirājuddīn 'Alī Khān, *Majma'unnaḥās*, Ms., p. 56a.

4. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the British Museum*, p. 706b.

5. (i) Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mirātul Khayāl*, p. 336.

(ii) Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, *Khazāna-e-'Āmirah*, *Yad-e Baizā*, in *Ma'ārif* for August 1946, p. 86. *Khazāna-e-'Āmirah*, p. 132. In *Sarw-e-Āzād* it is Barlas which is palpably an error made by the calligraphist.

(iii) Ifākhār, 'Abdul Wahhāb, *Tazkirah-e-Benāzīr*, p. 39.

(iv) Khushgū in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 358.

6. *Glossary of Turkish Words*, p. 116; Dughlāt, *Tārīkh-e-Rashīdī*, p. 3; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āṣirul Umara*, Vol. III pp. 258-60.

was first assumed by Iradaml Barlās, the eighth ancestor of Amīr Tīmūr.¹ All the Tīmūrīs are, therefore, Barlāses, and keeping in view the genealogy² of Bābur, which shows that he was a descendant of Tīmūr, we can safely say that the illustrious Barlāses ruled over India for many centuries, till they were displaced by the British in 1837 A.D. Now we turn to the Arlāt sept. On the death of the father of Chingīz Khān, his mother married one Menglik Izka, who was a pious and virtuous man. The second son of Menglik Izka was named Arlāt and from him came the tribe of Arlāts.³ Thus the Barlāses and the Arlāts have a glorious history, and numerous prominent members of these tribes are mentioned in different history books⁴ of the Mughals. Owing to the widespread popularity of these tribes one can be easily misled to believe that Bedil was either a Barlās or an Arlāt.

But the evidence of about half a dozen of his biographers cannot be brushed aside. The author of *Nish'tar-e-'Ishq*, who wrote this Tazkirah in 1232/1817 (نشر رک جان, being the chronogram)⁵ and who says Bedil was a Barlās, was not a contemporary of our poet. His statement, therefore, cannot be trustworthy. Khān Ārzū, who says that the poet was an Arlāt, though a contemporary, seems to have taken no pains in finding out the tribe of Bedil. He says that he saw him only twice⁶ in the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Farrukh Siyar (1713-1719 A.D.). In this connection I place my utmost reliance on Sher Khān Lodhī, the author of *Mirātul Khayāl*, who, after writing the account of Bedil in his Tazkirah showed it to the poet himself, who was satisfied⁷ with what Sher Khān had written about him. There we learn that Bedil was an Arlās. It has already been pointed out⁸ that Khushgū, in his *Safina*, Āzād Bilgrāmī in all of his three Tazkirahs, 'Abdul Wahhāb Iftikhar in his *Tazkirah-e-Bināzīr*, are all unanimous in declaring that Bedil belonged to the Arlās tribe. The author of *'Iqd-e-Surayya* also joins⁹ them. Out of these four

1. Dughlā, Mirzā Hamid, *Tarikh-e-Rashidi*, p. 51 (in introduction).

2. 'Abdul Chā'ī, *The Genealogical History of the Tatars*, pp. 49-50.

3. Davy, *Incursions of Timur*, p. 32.

4. (i) Dughlā, *Tarikh-e-Rashidi*, pp. 75, 108, 140, 141, 195, etc.

(ii) 'All Yāzī, Sharaf-ud-dīn, *Zafarnāma*, pp. 52, 692.

(iii) Bābur, *Memoirs of Babur*, pp. 50, 235, 298, 299, 301, etc.

(iv) Abul Fazal, *Āin-e-Akbarī*, p. 280.

5. Husain Quli Khān, *Nish'tar-e-'Ishq* Ma., f. 209b.

6. Ārzū, *Majma'at Nafāis*, Ma., f. 56a.

7. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mirātul Khayāl*, p. 390.

8. Page 3, *supra*.

9. Mushafi, Ghulam Hamdani, *'Iqd-e-Surayya*, p. 16.

biographers, the last two are not contemporaries of Bedil. As regards Khushgū, he used to visit Bedil daily, and he says he was with him more than a thousand¹ times. It means that at least for about three years Khushgū constantly visited Bedil. So far as Āzād B. grāmī is concerned, he has admittedly² collected more data's regarding the life of the poets he mentions than most of the other biographers. Moreover, in the *Catalogue of the Persian and Arabic Manuscripts* of the Bankipūr³ and Behār⁴ Libraries, too, we find that the name of the tribe to which Bedil belonged has been mentioned as Arīs. Now in *Nurūl Abshār*⁵ a dictionary of the Turkish language written in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, the Mughal Emperor (1719-1739 A.D.) we read that Arīs is indeed the name of a Mughal tribe. Arīs tribe, though less conspicuous, is, therefore, the tribe to which Bedil belonged. The etymology of the word Arīs is unknown though the author of *Arifūl Luḡāt* writes that 'the ninth intellect' is called Arīs.

Nothing definite is known about the date of the migration of Bedil's ancestors to India. Originally, they belonged to Tūrān—a country beyond the River Oxus—and lived in Bokhāra. Research regarding the question of Bedil's ancestors who first migrated to India has also been fruitless. This much alone is known that for many generations his forefathers were soldiers.⁶ But we tread safer ground when we come to speak of Bedil's father—Mīrzā 'Abd al-Fāḥ q.⁷ He was a well-to-do soldier⁸, but very early⁹ in his life, he renounced the world and lived the life of a ṣūfī devoted to the Absolute Reality. Through the spiritual assistance of a saint, Maulānā Kamāl,¹⁰ he had the rare fortune of being instructed in the

1. Khushgū in *Ma'ārif* for May 1942, p. 69.

2. Sprenger, A., *A Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustani Manuscripts of the Libraries of the Kings of Oudh*, p. 144.

3. Ms. No. 381. Bankipur is properly the western suburb of Patna.

4. Ms. No. 470.

5. Rai Dhan, *Nurūl Abshār* Ms. II, 432-A.

6. Bedil, *Chāshma-i-Umūr*, Ṣādiqī Edition, p. 66. Here Bedil writes that he joined the Army in keeping with the tradition of his forefathers.

7. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 378. Khushgū gives this name, but Hāshim Shāh Afandī, a Professor of Persian Literature in Kabul University, possesses a manuscript *Kutubāt* of Bedil, in which at the end of the *Risāla* and in the beginning of the *Majma' al-Maḥāshir*, I saw the following statement: — فی سبب میرزا

عبدالقادر بدیل ولد یوسف الدین. The scribe wrote it in 1236 A.H. (1820 A.D.). But as Khushgū is a contemporary I believe him. For Hāshim Shāh's *Kullī*, 3d sec. *Arjona*, Kabul, Dalv 1329 (1370 A.H.).

8. Shāh 'Azīmūddīn, *Nau-ze-Wajaz*, p. 70. *Oriental College Magazine*, August 1937.

9. Khushgū in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 356.

10. Bedil, *Kutubāt*, II, p. 2; (Ṣādiqī Edition).

Path by the spirit of Shaykh 'Abd al Qādir Jīlānī (1077-1166 A.H., 1671-1750 A.D.) himself, who was undoubtedly mainly responsible for the popularisation of the new note of passion and emotion in orthodox Islam, introduced into more intellectual circles by Ghazzālī.¹ Mirzā 'Abd al Khāliq thus belonged to the famous Qadiri' order of the Sūfis, which had entered India through Sind, in 1452 A.D.

When Mirzā 'Abd al Khāliq was quite an old man, at a very auspicious hour in 1065 A.H. (1654 A.D.), a son was born to him. Mirzā 'Abd al Qādir Tirmidhī a Sūfi Sūfi and intimate friend of Mirzā 'Abd al Khāliq was well-versed in Mathematics and Astrology. He foretold a brilliant future for the child and, to commemorate this happy occasion, he brought forth two chronograms, نفس قدس and انتخاب, each yielding the year 1064 A.H. Little did the family know at that time that the handsome child, who was indeed a divine gift (نفس قدس) would one day be one of the elect (انتخاب) of the world. As he had an unshakably profound faith in the spiritual eminence of Shaykh 'Abd al Qādir Jīlānī, Mirzā 'Abd al Khāliq wanted to perpetuate the memory of this feat in the name of his son who was called 'Abd al Qādir.²

The place where this child was born has been variously given by the Taḥṣīl-nāmas. Mir Qadīr ul-lah Qāsim, the author of Majma' e-Naghā, who wrote this Taḥṣīl-nāma in 1221 A.H. (1806 A.D.) says that 'Abd al Qādir was born in Bukhara, and came to India in his childhood.³ It may be noted that Mir Shāhib made this statement fully eighty-eight years after the death of Bedil. 'Abd al Ghafūr Nassākh wrote his Sakḥun-e-Sū'ara in 1281 A.H. (1864 A.D.) and he too has the same views about the birth-place of Bedil but it appears his authority is none other than Mir Qadīr ul-lah Qāsim. As already pointed out, Bukhara must have been the native town of Bedil's ancestors, but it cannot be the birth-place of the poet as asserted in Majma' e-Naghā. Mir Qāsim 'Alī Āzād B. ḡāmī, the well-known writer of the three Taḥṣīl-nāmas—Taḥṣīl-nāma, Sakḥun-e-Sū'ara, and Qadiri'at—

1. Sayyid Ḥasan, in *History of Sūfism* by Arberry, Introduction xii.

2. Ibid. The order was started by the renowned Shaykh 'Abd al Qādir Jīlānī.

3. Khushdād, in *Majma' e-Naghā*, p. 38.

4. Bedil, Chand, Ussat, Safinat Ussat, p. 20.

5. Khushdād in *Majma' e-Naghā*, May 1942.

6. Ibid.

7. Qāsim Mir, Qadīr ul-lah, *Majma' e-Naghā*, 113. A fantastic story was told to me at Kabul that Bedil was born in Baddakhshāna, where tribe (قبائل) of Bedil still exists. No documentary proof was, however, produced.

8. Nassākh, 'Abd al Ghafūr, *Sakḥun-e-Sū'ara*, p. 10.

9. Page 3, *supra*.

'rah,' and who is, we know, very scrupulous about giving facts, definitely in all the three books that Bedil was born in 'Azīmābād'—i.e. Āzād Bilgrāmī (born 1116/1704), it must be borne in mind, as a contemporary of Bedil, though much younger in age.

Internal evidence too can be easily arrayed on the side of Āzād. Whenever Bedil writes about Bihār and its towns one is emphatically made to believe that he is well acquainted with the province, and probably this would have been impossible unless he had passed a considerable period of his early life in that part of the country. There is, besides, an implicit reference to his attachment for Bihār in a letter¹ which Bedil wrote in his old age from Dehli, to someone living in Bihār. He wrote :

نعیم عیش صوبہ بہار میاں کہاد

[Accept my congratulations for enjoying a happy life in Bihar Province].

This shows that he had a warm corner in his heart for the province even in his old age. A verse,² too, is worth serious consideration in this respect :

ما سید بہتان حباب گریدہ* نویسیدیم خانہ پر آبست یکسر مردم شگلہ ر

[We, the unlucky fellows, are the bubbles produced by the tears of disappointment,

The people of Bengāl have their houses completely on water (leading quite a precarious life)].

Here we find a clear reference to his homeland. Bihār and Bengāl in those days meant one and the same territory. Khān Ārzū, certainly, had this fact in mind when he wrote in *Majma'ur Nafāis* that during his early days Bedil lived³ in Bengāl. Someone might say, "At the most we conclude from these facts that Bedil was a Bengālī, and he must have been called 'Azīmābādī' as, according to Sayyid Sulaiman Nadvī,⁴ who himself belongs to Bihār,⁵ townspeople in Bihār are often called 'Azīmābādīs.'" He may be told that the central place, from where Bedil in his early life had been making journeys⁶ to other places, was Patna, and this could not be the case unless it was his native town.

1. Bedil, *Ruqq'at*, 133. Here Bedil speaks clearly about his old age.

2. Bedil, *Kulliyāt*, Safdarī Edition, *Ghazaliyāt*, 35.

3. Ārzū, *Majma'ur Nafāis*, Ms., f. 56a. The original statement reads :

در بنگالہ بسر بردہ

4. *Ma'arif*, August 1946, p. 94.

5. *Urdu Magazine*, January 1928.

6. Pages 12, 23, 26, 29 *infra*.

Moreover, not only Āzād Elgrāmī but other biographers also assert definitely that Bedil was born in 'Azīmābād Patna. Hussain Quli Khān 'Azīmābādī writes in *Nishtar-e-Ishq*: بدل در عظیم آباد [Bedil was born in Āzīmābād Patna]. Similarly, Wazīr 'Alī 'Azīmābādī says in *Mir'at al-Khayāl*: مولد لطیفش شهر عظیم آباد است [His (Bedil's) birthplace is the beautiful town of 'Azīmābād]. Shād 'Azīmābādī even mentions the quarter in which Bedil lived. He says: "Mirza 'Abdul Qādir Bedil belonged to 'Azīmābād Patna proper and the aged people say he lived in the Pattan Devī quarter."

It may be noted that all the authorities quoted above hail from 'Azīmābād. This fact shows that the belief that Bedil belonged to this town is shared by all the writers of that place and has been handed down from one generation to another. In a recently published booklet,⁴ بہار اور اردو شاعری, Bedil has again been claimed as 'Azīmābādī. Finally, we come to the short biographical sketch of Bedil given in the *Catalogue of Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipur*, where all what I have said so far has been tersely summed up:

"Mirza 'Abdul Qādir Bedil. . . . son of Mirza 'Abdul Khāliq of Turkish origin, belonging to the Chaghtai tribe of Arlās, was born in 'Azīmābād Patna in A.H. 1054 (A.D. 1644) for which date the word انتحابہ is a chronogram."

Now Bankipur⁶ is a suburb of Patna and a part of the Patna municipality. This life-sketch of Bedil, therefore, must be based on authentic facts. In view of all this, I affirm unhesitatingly⁷ that Bedil was born in 'Azīmābād Patna, and that he must have passed at least a considerable part of his early life in the Pattan Devī quarter of the town, as stated by Shād 'Azīmābādī.⁸

1 Hussain Quli Khān 'Azīmābādī, *Nishtar-e-Ishq*, Ms. f. 203a.

2 Wazīr 'Alī Khān 'Azīmābādī, *Mir'at al-Khayāl*, Ms.; date of composition 1257 A.H. (1841 A.D.).

3 Shād 'Azīmābādī, *Mas'ala-Wajaz*, p. 220, in *Ma'arif*, August 1946, p. 95. The original quotation follows:

بدل خاص عظیم آباد پٹنہ کے متوطن تھے۔۔۔ ماکے لوگوں سے تھے کہ مرزا معاذ پٹن دیوی میں رہتے تھے۔

4 Dardai, Mu'isuddīn, Muhammad, بہار اور اردو شاعری, pp. 21-25.

5 See under Manuscript No. 831 of this Catalogue, Vol. III, published, Calcutta 1927.

6 O'Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers, Patna*, 180.

7 I have deliberately avoided to mention Akbarābad, Delhi and Lahore, which cities have been given by Khushgū, 'Alī Qulī Hādāyat and Tāhīr Naṣr-Abādī respectively as the native places of Bedil. During his lifetime our poet lived in these cities at one time or the other.

8 See above.

Numerous references have so far been made to 'Azīmābād. It would, therefore, be desirable to give here a brief history and geography of this place.

'Azīmābād is the Pāthapatra¹ of ancient times, which was the capital of Magdha. When it was being built, Buddha (500 B.C.) predicted that it would become a great city. Later, Pāthputra came to be called Patna. In 1704 A.D. it was re-christened 'Azīmābād² by its Governor, Prince 'Azīnashshān, a grandson of the Emperor Aurangzeb. As Bedil was born in 1644 A.D., it was then still called Patna, and, as he was an old man of sixty when it changed its name and became 'Azīmābād, Bedil always calls it Patna³ in his writings. Nowadays again it is Patna of old days and is the capital⁴ of Bihar, and the headquarters town of Patna District. It is situated on the south bank of the Ganges.

At the time when Bedil was born, Shāh Jahān, the magnificent Mughal Emperor, was ruling over India. He had ascended the throne in 1628 A.D. (1037 A.H.), and during the sixteen years that had elapsed till the birth of Bedil, Shāh Jahān had fully established his claim for being an illustrious monarch. His armies had been victorious⁵ in all the campaigns that he had undertaken. His last gala was Qandhar,⁶ surrendered in 1639 A.D. (1047 A.H.), to the Imperial Armies by 'Alī Mardān Khān, its Governor. Since then necessity for entering upon a military enterprise had not arisen. The Emperor's victories had established Imperial prestige and consequently there was perfect peace and tranquility in the Empire. Justice was administered equitably, a general sense of security prevailed, and trade and industry flourished.⁷

Shāh Jahān had a natural taste for magnificence and elegance. The unrivalled Peacock Throne⁸—an exquisite specimen of workmanship in jewels and precious stones—was constructed for him in 1634 A.D. (1044 A.H.) costing one crore of rupees. Foundations of the grandest

1. Cunningham, Alexander, *The Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 492-50.

2. O'Malley, *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, Patna*, 190.

3. Bedil, *Kulliyāt*, Safdar Edition, *Chahār 'Unsur*, 50, 124.

4. O'Malley, *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, Patna*, 163.

5. 'Abdul Hamid Lāhūrī, *Padīnāhnāma*, Vol. I, Part A, pp. 246, 238, Part B, p. 126, *ibid*, in Elliot and Dowson, p. 93. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhbatul Lubāb*, I, pp. 410-461, 473, 509-26.

6. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhbatul Lubāb*, I, pp. 536-539.

7. Rai Bihari Lal, *Lubāb-i-Tawārīkh-e-Hind* in Elliot and Dowson, p. 172.

'Abdul Hamid Lāhūrī, *Padīnāhnāma*, Vol. I, Part A, p. 139, *ibid*, Part B, p. 76.

8. *درنگ شاهی عالم* is the chronogram which occurs in a poem by Hāfi Mubammad Jān Qudsī, which was engraved in the canopy of the throne. For the poem see Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhbatul Lubāb*, Part I, p. 503.

city of the Empire, i.e. of Shāh Jahān¹ were laid on the 23th of Zil Hijā 1018 A.H. (29th April 1632), and constructions were going on apace under the directions of the ablest of the royal engineers. Murādī Mahal, the dearly loved wife of Shāh Jahān, had died² on the 7th of Jare 1031 (17th of Zil'qu'd 1040), and she, gazing with tearful eyes at her royal consort, who later on gave expression to his affliction and sorrow in the elegant and chaste *Lā*; the marble monuments on its inner platform were completed in 1071 A.H. (1643 A.D.) a year before the birth of Bedil. Thus the blessed child was born in a world whose imagination had been tickled by the magnificence and graciousness of Shāh Jahān.

It may also be borne in mind that at this occasion, the Emperor had burned the practice of prostrating before the throne, and had re-introduced the Islamic calendar. The objections, so vociferously raised by al-Majaddid³ had thus been removed. Moreover, he had struck coins⁴ bearing the orthodox religious views, had arrived at a settlement with the Deccanī Muslim rulers to the effect that the first three caliphs of Islam should not be abused,⁵ and he had also visited, as a pilgrim, publicly, the tombs of Īshwā'a Mahmūdī⁶ (d. 1045/1636 and 1552, 1642) and Īshwā'a Mahmūdī Anwār¹⁰ of Delhi (in 1043/1632). The orthodox Muslims felt glorified and they admired Shāh Jahān as a hero. Shāh Jahān was, therefore, at the climax of his power, influence, and popularity when Bedil opened his eyes in this world.

He had opened his eyes in this world, but before reaching maturity he had yet to pass through the stage of infancy. Bedil himself gives an account¹¹ of these days. At this time he could not distinguish good from bad, and man from woman. He was only sucking nourishment from the breast of his loving mother and, whenever the supply of sweet milk stopped, he used to cry bitterly. For him this period had really the blessings¹² of paradise. Whatever he

1. Imād al-Dīn, *Shāh Jahān Nama*, in *Farāqī's Dastān*, VII, p. 89.

2. Abd al-Hamid Lāhorī, *Pādshahnāma*, Vol. I, Part A, p. 346.

3. *Ferginān, Mughal Architecture*, p. 251.

4. *Farāqī's Dastān*, *Mughal Lāh*, Vol. I, p. 216.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 327. Abd al-Hamid Lāhorī, *Pādshahnāma*, Vol. I, Part A, p. 110.

6. 971-1034 A.H. For the biographical sketch of this eminent saint, whose full name is Shaykh Ahmad Sa'adī, see Farāqī, Burhān Ahmad, *The Majdids: Conception of Tawhid*, pp. 5-18.

7. Abd al-Hamid Lāhorī, *Pādshahnāma*, Vol. I, Part A, p. 91.

8. *Ibid.*, Part B, pp. 145, 178.

9. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 344.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

11. Bedil, *Chahār Unwā* (Safdarī Edition), p. 5.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

lay, it turned out to be a soothing cot, and at every place a nurse's lap welcomed his head. Gradually he began to recognise his parents, and learnt to utter *pappai* and *mamma*, and then, after crawling for some days on the ground, he managed to tread here and there. His innocent monosyllabic utterances were loved by all. Soon he was running, going freely even into the parda-observing homes, and chattering and laughing.

When he was about four years and a half his father, Mirzā 'Abd al Khālīq breathed his last, and Bedil was left an orphan. Brilliant reminiscences¹ of the paternal care were the only thing he could recollect in his early years about his father. Now he was under the protection of Mirzā Qalandar,² a step-brother and also disciple of his father. For some time no attention was paid towards the education of Bedil, but in the beginning of the sixth month of the sixth year of his life, his mother, a virtuous lady, taught him the alphabet, and then he was put under the charge of teachers. He finished reading the Holy Qur'ān³ after the incredibly short period of seven months. This shows he was highly intelligent. His mother had also died by that time,⁴ and he was now under the sole charge of Mirzā Qalandar.

He learnt Arabic grammar⁵ and Persian prose and verse till he was ten years old. His mind was not yet mature for philosophy. In spite of this, while speaking of new vistas of thought that were slowly and steadily opening before his mind in those days, he says, "Every crowd that I saw served as a *Ma'atib* contributing towards my perfection, and every word that fell on my ears guided me a step further. Every subtle point used to unfold before me a book of mysteries, and every aphorism revealed volumes of truth. Such a penetrating mind had been granted to me by the bountiful God!"

1. Bedil, *Chahār 'Uzur*, Safdarī Edition, p. 5.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

3. Khushgū in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 358.

4. *Chahār 'Uzur*, Safdarī Edition, p. 5. He mourns his father in this verse:

خورشید خرامید و قروغی به نظر ماند / دریا به کنار دگر افتد و گهر ماند
[The sun glided away, and only a brilliant twilight was in sight.
The river moved to the other bank and the pearl was left behind.]

5. Khushgū in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 359. برادر اخبانی درمۀ تلمیذی
a brother from the same mother but different father.

6. *Chahār 'Uzur*, Safdarī Edition, p. 5.

7. Khushgū in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 359, "that he finished the Holy Qur'ān before the death of his father, but Bedil himself contradicts him in *Chahār 'Uzur* at page 5.

8. Khushgū in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 359.

9. *Chahār 'Uzur*, Safdarī Edition, p. 6. Khushgū in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 359.

At that time when he was studying rhetoric and learning lessons from the *Chahār* of the Great Sa'adī, one of his class fellows used to come to the *Maktaba* chewing the fragrant clove-jilly flower (قرنفل). Whenever he boy smiled or talked, the air was filled with sweet smell. This perfume stirred his latent creative faculties, and Bedil composed the following quatrain:

یارم هر که در سخن می آید بونی عیش از دهن می آید
این بوی قرنفل است یا نکبت گل یا رائه مشک سی می آید
[I never hear but speak,

A strange perfume comes out of his mouth

Is it the fragrance of the clove-jilly flower or that of rose,

Or there comes the sweet smell of the musk of Cathay?]

All who heard this quatrain were surprised. They could not believe that such a gem could be produced by a boy of ten. While talking about this composition, Bedil himself feels glorified.

In the very year of his life, when he had finished the *Alfā* and had just commenced the *Sharḥ al-Mafāḥim*,¹ a strange episode cut short Bedil's regular education. One day, two of his teachers were holding discussion about induction in Arabic grammar. In the heat of discussion, their gular veins swelled, their eyes grew red hot, and they lost their temper. Mirza Qā'ān happened to be there. He thought if a life of devotion to Arabic studies ultimately results in such a shameless and childish behaviour then were upon schooling. He asked his nephew to leave the school forthwith and study the famous works of the master-writers of Persian at home. He reminded him that the chronogram *سوی و سب* and *الحسب*, discovered by an eminent saint, *Shaykh Abū Qā'im* of Tirmidh, predicted extraordinary intellectual and spiritual achievements and Bedil should, therefore, study privately, looking for guidance only to God, the Omnipotent. From that day, he began to acquire knowledge with extraordinary self-devotion and emerged finally as a self-taught genius. We have to see how it happened.

Before crossing the Khyber Pass and coming into India, the Muslims of Central Asia had attained a high degree of civilisation, and their sciences had already reached their culminating point. I will only mention the names of Albīrūnī (362-440 A.H. — 972-1048 A.D.)

1 *Chahār 'Uṣṣā*, Safdari Edition, p. 47.

2 *Husn al-Qul* Khān 'Aḡimābādī, *Ashtan-e-Jahāq*, Ms., f. 20ra.

3 *Ḥuṣṣ al-Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 360. Also *Natā'iq*, f. 2031, and *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Mss. at Bankipur*.

4 *Ḥuṣṣ al-Ma'ārif* says these were two students, but Bedil writes:

روزی در علمای مدرسه تقریر طرح اجلاسی قرار یافته بود، و در دانشمند
بی انصاف عرصه بیولان لاف گرم داشتند

They were, therefore, teachers. See *Chahār 'Uṣṣā* Safdari Edition, pp. 25, 26.

and in 528-529 A.D. — 1035 A.D. — a period of 500 years from which came the main exodus of Muslims to India. About Ibn Sina, Ibn Sina says that he mastered the entire scientific knowledge of the epoch and excelled in almost every science and art, from mathematics and physics, down to the sciences of medicine, metaphysics, and astronomy and astrology.¹ When the Muslims had conquered India, they set down to propagate their sciences, and very soon, even in the days of 'Alauddin Khilji, who reigned in Calcutta, the seat of learning in the country was in a state which the Muslims had left in Persia, Samarkand, and Bagdad. In Sanskrit, Persian, Metaphysics, Euclid, Jurisprudence, Theology, Grammar, History, and Geography were taught. During the Muslim period, the educational activities of the Muslims received a further impetus owing to continued peace and court patronage and encouragement. The highest peak was reached during the reign of Shah Jahan who, besides being a strong ruler, was a bibliophile, and made notable contributions. Shah 'Abdul Haqq (died 1075 A.H.), Mirza 'Abd. Hakim Siddiqi (died 1075 A.H.), and Shah Mirza 'Abd. Jalil (died 1075 A.H.) were some of the distinguished names of his times. Shah 'Abd. Haqq (died 1075 A.H.) — the renowned Prince Nawab of Shah Jahan, knew the H. Q. and the Pers. and at the same time was proficient in all the sciences in vogue in those days.

We have spoken of India in general, but the *Uttar*, where Ben was passing the most remarkable period of his life, was more famous in having the most distinguished scholars and the best seminaries. It had maintained, since earlier times, the proud distinction of having high traditions of learning. Nalanda,² the most famous seat of Buddhist learning in all India, was situated in this very *Uttar*. When Amir Timur pillaged the country from the Indus to the Ganges in 1399 A.D. *Uttar* was ravaged and its people were slaughtered. The brilliant heritages of India fled for refuge to the East. Such coming with these times, fortunately, the Kings of the East, or the *Shah* Kings, were establishing themselves in

1. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, p. 7.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

3. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, p. 112. *Encyclopaedia*, vol. I, pp. 112-3.

4. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, p. 31.

5. *Law, Prevalence of Muhammadan Learning*, Foreword, p. xiv.

6. *Abd. Haqq's Life*, *Farhang-i-Hind*, p. 31.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 320. He was called *Shah* by the *Shah* Kings. See *Rahman 'Ali, Tazkirah-e-Ulema-i-Hind*, p. 16.

8. *Rahman 'Ali, Tazkirah-e-Ulema-i-Hind*, p. 16.

9. *Khāfi Khān, Mun'akhbari*, *Lahor*, I, p. 571.

10. *Cunningham, The Ancient Geography of India*, p. 469.

Jampur. Isrā'īl ibn Shāh, who reigned from 1401 to 1449 A.D., was the most prominent of the Kings of the East. He was an enlightened patron of arts and learning. All the Muslim scholars and 'ulema, therefore, flocked to Jampur and there they set up many seminaries.¹

A new era of enlightenment was thus inaugurated, and the country, right up to the ancient city of Patna,² became a cradle of learning and culture. So much so that S. Abū Jahān once remarked with a glimmer of delight in his eyes: "مشرق شرق از مشرق", i.e. 'Our East bears comparison with S. Irāz in respect of learning'. The works of the later thinkers of Iran had been introduced or led in during the days of Akbar, the Great, and were included in the courses of study.³ After mastering the works of his predecessors, Mullā Muḥammad Jampurī (died 1602/1651-2) had written his philosophical treatise—*Shams-e-Ẓayyāt*⁴—in 1647/1672-3 which stands out even today as a monument of learning and exposition.

From amongst the distinguished 'ulema of Bihār proper, we come across Muḥā Muḥyuddīn Muḥān Bihārī⁵ (died 1666/1637-8) who was the teacher of Aurangzeb. Side by side with Bedil, Ghulām Yahyā Bihārī⁶ (died 1126/1756) and Qāṣi Muḥibbulah Bihārī⁷ (died 1119/1707), were also getting education. Later, the former earned a name as a philosopher, and the latter was called the virtual ocean of learning.

It is apparent that the environments in Bihār were at this time very conducive to the attainment of knowledge. All sorts of facilities were available and one could reap benefit according to one's bent of mind and circumstances. We know that Bedil had been asked by his uncle to study the masterpieces of Persian prose and verse at home. He had been advised to collect selected verses and beautiful passages from different authors and then to show them to his uncle. It was essentially a research work. Conventional ways being abandoned, Bedil silently applied himself to poetical works, and reflection and concentration became his second nature. Cleanings of the day were read out to Mirzā Qalandar, his uncle, whose appreciation

1. Nūr-ud-dīn Zafarābādī, *Tarīkh-e-Nāf*, II, pp. 2, 19.

2. Ibid., II. Sāhibzādā Mirzā Abū Sa'īd Bihārī quoted in *Harāt-e-Ḥāṭī*, p. 12. The province of 'Aḥmadnāgar' (Bihār) has not been included here in *Harāt*, i.e. the East.

3. Azād, *Ghulām 'Alī Bihārī*, *Mas'irul Karam*, I, p. 221.

4. Ibid., p. 238. The names of Dawūd-i Mīr Sa'īduddīn, Mīr Ghulām Qāṣi, etc., have been mentioned.

5. Ibid., p. 257.

6. Azād, *Ghulām 'Alī Bihārī*, *Mas'irul Karam*, I, p. 43.

7. Rahmān 'Alī *Tazkirah-e-'Ulamā-e-Hind*, p. 139.

8. Ibid., p. 175.

9. Bedil, *Chahār 'Unsur*, *Şafdarī Edition*, p. 27.

encouraged Bedā. Sometimes on hearing some elegant verse Mīrzā Qalandar was moved to ecstasy and used to compose couplets extempore. In view of the inspiration that Bedā received from his uncle he counts him as one of his teachers. He says that he learnt good manners also from his uncle.

Mīrzā Qalandar, though illiterate, had a keen perception and could versify extempore with a fair degree of elegance. Once he had a piece of yellow silk tied over his eyes on account of some eye trouble. Someone enquired about it and he replied off-hand:

محررومی دیدار تو خون در چکر انداخت چشم چه کند چشم تراش از نظر انداخت

[My liver bled as I was debarred from seeing you.

What should my eyes do, when your eyes have cast them off?]

He was also extraordinarily strong and energetic.² In a single pull, he could uproot a date-palm, with a rope of horse's hair tied to its stem some five or six feet deep in the earth. He could break the hardest stone of apricot under the pressure of his thumb, and could easily straighten the twisted articles of inflexible steel. The army unit which was commanded by him was always victorious at the battlefield. Once fighting in Herāza he showed his fortitude and resolution in a strange way. In the heat of the action his heel was dislocated and his shank bone fractured. Calmly and silently he set right his heel, tied pieces of a row round the fractured bone, and continued fighting for full three days, till he was victorious. Then he told his companions what had happened, and all were surprised.

Scorpions could not move under his shadow and larks opened as soon as he pointed at them with his forefinger. The former novel trait, he said, was inherited, and the latter he had acquired by repeating constantly for full five years, یا ساج—an attribute of God. When he was feeling severely feverish, he would drink 300 Misqāl³ of ghee at a draught and regarded it as healing-giving syrup; and he used to put ground pepper in his eyes to cure them of soreness.

1. Bedāi Ghelār 'Usur, Safdar' I, p. 23.

2. Ibid., p. 23.

3. Khajūhī says that in the beginning Mīrzā Qalandar was in the service of Prince Shāh, 2. We know that Prince Shāh had been called from Bengāl by Shāh Jahān when he went to Kabul in 1047 A.H. (1646 A.D.) in connection with the arduous Baluch campaign. It is just possible that Mīrzā Qalandar accompanied the armies of Shāh on that occasion. When the Mughal armies retreated in 1057 A.H. (1647 A.D.), they were attacked by the headless Hīzāras in the way. But I cannot say definitely that Mīrzā Qalandar experienced a fracture of his shank bone at that time. See Khajūhī in *Mas'ārif*, III, 1912, p. 357. Khāfi Khān, *Muntahabul Lubāb*, I, pp. 660, 676, 680.

4. مشال is equivalent to about five grams. Hama, *New Persian-English Dictionary*, I, p. 818.

He lived a life of contentment¹ having no relish for nice dates. He practised austerity, and, with a view to self mortification, every now and then, he observed forty days of devotion and seclusion, as a consequence of which he would grow very thin and weak and only the entreaties of his friends compelled him to give up the severe self-discipline for some time. He said, "Strict self-discipline is essential if you wish to achieve perfection." We have also seen that he was a disciple² of Mirzā 'Abdul Khaliq—Bedil's father. He had no liking for having an established home.³ Bedil says,⁴ "Mirzā Qalandar had covered all the stages of the Path and belonged to the Qādiri order of Sūfism."

It has already been related that Mirzā 'Abdul Khaliq had deep-rooted faith in a saint named Maulānā Kamāl. Mirzā Qalandar too was a great believer in the spiritual eminence of this holy personage. Maulānā Kamāl belonged to Ran' Sagar⁵—a town in Bihār about sixty miles to the west of Patna. With a lowliness of spirit he had combined elevation of mind. He was the phoenix of his age in mysticism, and, in his regard for the canon law, he was a model for others. The Qādiri order of saints received much celebrity in Bihār because of the supreme excellence of his personality.⁶

Bedil had known him from his very childhood. But at one time things took such a turn that Maulānā Kamāl began to bestow increasingly more attention upon the promising boy. Bedil was interested in incantations⁷ from his infancy. He would attend people at sick-bed, used to put his personal amulet around their necks, and recited the Holy Qurān (i.e. سورة الحمد, for invoking the blessings of God). Ailing persons, Bedil says, were thus relieved of their trouble. In this way he had developed interest in amulets and charms. Now, one day, Bedil overheard⁸ Maulānā Kamāl telling a charm to Mirzā Qalandar for exorcising the evil spirits. It so happened that, on a certain day, when Bedil was playing with his mates, he was told that a woman was being tortured to death by some evil spirit. Several exorcisers were called, but of no avail. A man, who could enter the woman's apartments, was sent for and Bedil decided to try the charm of the Maulānā. When the man came Bedil asked him to breathe the اسم اعظم on the nail of the woman's thumb. She was immediately relieved. When

1. Bedil, *Chahār Unsur*, Şafdarī Edition, p. 24.

2. Page 11, *supra*.

3. *Chahār Unsur*, Şafdarī Edition, p. 7.

4. *Ibid*.

5. Page 5, *supra*.

6. *Chahār Unsur*, Şafdarī Edition, p. 9.

7. *Ibid*, p. 6.

8. *Ibid*, p. 7. Bedil's interest in charms continued till he was 25 (*Chahār Unsur*, 110-20).

9. *Ibid*, p. 8.

Maulānā Kamāl heard the whole story, he was immensely pleased and gave Bedī his book of amulets which he had collected during the whole course of his life. From that day Maulānā Kamāl began to shower his favours upon Bedī.

It is evident that Bedī was initiated into mysticism by Mīzā Qalandar and Maulānā Kamāl, who, by their personal example of self-renunciation, had inculcated in him disinterested love which is the basis of *Ṣūfīsm*. *Khushgūl* says that in the art of versification too, Maulānā Kamāl was the teacher of Bedī.

When Bedī composed his first quatrain, he had been discouraged by some people who had remarked that such a nice piece of poetry could not be produced by a lad of ten. Nevertheless, at that very time,² he felt some mysterious vibrations in his soul which impelled him to speak out in verse. He destroyed his compositions, for fear of the critics although every hemistich was colourful like the rainbow and lofty like the crescent. During those days he wrote³ in the style of the classical Persian poets.

On account of his early contact with the custodians of esoteric doctrine, Bedī was led to believe that he too was destined to share their secrets. This belief had a profound influence over his career as a poet, and from the very beginning he thought that whenever he composed a couplet, he divulged a secret. It was perhaps because of this that originally he adopted *Ramzī* as his *Takhallus*. But *Khushgūl* says,⁴ "One day Bedī was studying the *Qāṣṣā*. When in its preface he reached the following hemistich:

بدل از ے نشان چه گرید باز

[What should a man without heart (i.e. lover)

Say about the untraceable God?]

he was moved to excitement, and after he had prayed for guidance from the spirit of *Hāfiz*, he decided to change his *Takhallus* from *Ramzī* to *Bedī*."

There was another saint, named *Shāh-e-Mulūk*,⁵ in whose company Bedī learnt much about the Unseen. *Shāh-e-Mulūk* was above all worldly considerations, cared little for food and drink, even remained naked and lived for a long time under a tree in *Sarā-e-Benares*, which is at a distance of about four miles from *Rārī Sāgar*, the town

1. *Khushgūl*, in *Mutārīf*, May 1942, p. 361.

2. *Chahār 'Uzur*, Safdari Edition, p. 48.

3. *Ibid*.

4. *Khushgūl*, in *Mutārīf*, May 1942, p. 361. *Husain Quṭb Khān*, however, says in *Nighat-e 'Ishq* (Ms. f. 204-6) that Bedī sought guidance from the spirit of *Sa'dī*, but I prefer *Khushgūl* because it is *Diwān-e-Hāfiz* which is invariably used for such purposes.

5. *Chahār 'Uzur*, Safdari Edition, pp. 14-15.

called *مدینه الاولیاء* (the city of saints) by Bedil because of its being the native town of *Shāikh Kamāl*. *Mirzā Qalandar* lived in *Rānī Sāgar* for some time on account of his having deep faith in the sainthood of *Shāikh Kamāl*. Bedil too was there, with *Mirzā Qalandar*, as his ward and pupil. As *Sarā-e-Benāres* is not much away from *Rānī Sāgar*, *Shāh-e-Mulūk* used to come to see *Mirzā Qalandar* and lived with him for weeks on end. The *Shāh* was indifferent towards people but when left alone he would go on talking and making references to profound truths. One day in the course of such a soul-illuminating talk to himself, when *Shāh-e-Mulūk* observed that Bedil was listening with rapt attention, he asked him to pen down his extempore utterances. Most eagerly Bedil took pen and paper, and for three days he wrote hemistich by hemistich, till they were in all forty couplets, full of Vedānta terminology and in *Rakḥitā*, i.e. Urdu. Bedil says that *Shāh-e-Mulūk* uttered a thousand similar verses day and night, but none was wise enough to pay attention to them. He expresses his gratefulness to the saint in the following quatrain:

بدیل چقدر ہر توفیق سوختہ اند کیں شعلہ بیان کلامت آموختہ اند
ای شمع زہرتو تو اندیشہ گداخت گویا بگداز دست آفروختہ اند

[Bedil, how much pains have they suffered for your sake?

They have taught you to versify in such an impressive manner.

O, candle, by your flame the imagination has melted;

It means they lighted you by melting their heart.]

Bedil counts *Shāh Yaka Āzād*¹ also among his spiritual guides. He was a saint of high standing and had come to *Āra*—a town² at a distance of about forty miles towards the west of Patna. Crowds came to see the saint. As *Mirzā Qalandar* had no fixed abode, he was at that time residing in this town, and, not unexpectedly, Bedil also was with him. *Mirzā Qalandar* soon developed intimate relations with *Shāh Yaka Āzād*, and was full of praise for him. Whenever the saint returned visits, *Mirzā Qalandar* felt overjoyed and accorded him a hearty welcome. Bedil records³ a miracle displayed by *Shāh Yaka Āzād*. Once the saint was crossing the Ganges in a boat, when the river was overflowing its banks. He had no money, and in the midst of the river, he was pestered by the persistent demands of the carmen. All of a sudden, he stepped out of the boat, was seen walking on the river, and soon disappeared beyond the horizon.

1. *Chahār Unw*, Safdarī Edition, p. 15.

2. O. Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers, Shahjehan*, pp. 125-30. It is headquarters of the district and a historic town. It has a Jama' Masjid—a saracenic building erected in the times of Aurangzeb.

3. *Chahār Unw*, p. 16.

Shāh Yaka Āzād, too, was very kind to Bedil, and many secrets about the Ultimate Reality were unfolded before him by the saint. One day in the scorching heat of the sun, Shāh Yaka Āzād came suddenly to see Bedil and foretold that the excellence of the inherent powers of Bedil would soon be recognised by men of insight. He also said that his own death would occur shortly and advised Bedil always to ponder over the meaning of the following verses¹:

ایں توی ظاهر کہ ہندری توی هست اندر تری تو از پیشوی
او تراست امانہ این تو کہ نیست آب توی کان برتر از با و نیست
توی تو در دیگری آمد دفین من جلاں مرد خود بین چنین

[This visible self of yours, which you regard to be your self,
Because of lack of self-realisation has enveloped your selfhood.
That self is yours and not this, which is body,
That self which is above all egotistical sayings.
Your selfhood is entombed in another.
I am a slave to the person who realises his self in this way.]

It was essentially an advice to show greater solicitude to the inner self. The same week Shāh Yaka Āzād gave up the Ghost.

Mirzā Qalandar, who, on all occasions, displayed readiness to pay homage to every saint, was also much influenced by the spiritual integrity of another holy man of distinction named Shāh Fāzil,² who disliked that legends about his sainthood should spread abroad. Bedil, who was particularly receptive to spiritual teaching, was also swayed over by this holy personage and in his company realised that:

محبت صاندلان جوہر اکسیر غنست ن مدف قطرہ معال است کہ گوہر گردد

[The company of the pure-hearted is the essence of the alchemy of self-sufficiency;

It is impossible that a drop should turn into a pearl without a mother-pearl.]

It appears³ from the statement of Bedil that, like all the Sūfis of that age, Shāh Fāzil was not only well versed in Exegesis and Hadīs but also in Metaphysics and Rhetoric. Bedil says that the prose of Shāh Fāzil rhymed like verse, and, in the clarification of thought, his verse excelled prose. In a discourse Shāh Fāzil beautifully described "imperfection⁴ of the phenomenal world and unreality of the

1. *Chahār Unsur*, p. 20.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, pp. 26, 83.

selfhood," and urged that one should always contemplate of Him Who is remote from all imperfections. Bedil quotes Shāh Fāz 1 saying:

در محفل وحدت ظهور جز یکی حقیق نیست پرتو ختلاف از کجا یطهور
پیوندد . . . جمعی که غیر حق چیزی ندیده اند و ندانند خود را بکدام صفت
منسوب نمایند. 1

[In the assembly of Unity of Appearance none but One is absolutely certain. How can then a ray of diversity appear? . . . The people, who see and possess nothing except God, cannot attribute to themselves any quality.]

In that very meeting someone submitted his request to Shāh Ṣāhib in the form of the following couplet:

می توان در کلبه ماهم شبی را روز کرد بویا گر نیست نقش بویا افتاده است
[In our hut also a night can be changed into day.
If it has not a mat, it has at least its painting]

Shāh Ṣāhib was reluctant to grant the request, and asked Bedil to reply. He forthwith composed the following verses extempore²:

خود بیا و حال ما بنگر که در ملک فنا روزگار ما ز روز و شب جدا افتاده است
کلبه وسواس است و نقش بویا زنگار طبع کار ما با شیوه حسی و صفا افتاده است
بویا و کلبه را در عالم ما پار نیست هر کجا هستیم نقش مدعا افتاده است
کلبه آتش زن شوش بویا را محو کن در بساط فقر ما بینی چهره افتاده است
تبخواند وخت از ما بپرخواند دایم دست نیستی ما را چو آتش در قضا افتاده است

[Come here yourself and see that in the domain of annihilation

Our times are different from the ordinary serial time,

The hut is only a whim and the painting of a mat the rust of mind.

We are concerned only with sincerity and purity.

The mat and the hut cannot have access into our realm.

Wherever we be, there is not a vestige of any ambition.

Burn down the hut and efface the painting of the mat.

Then alone you will see what is hidden in the carpet of our,

Faqr.

So long as it does not consume us, it will not leave us,

Annihilation pursues us like fire.]

Bedil was in this way attending the discourses of the eminent mystics of his time, and studying privately and writing poetry,

1. *Chahār 'Unsur*, Ṣafdarī Edition p. 49.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

when all of a sudden he felt tremors under his feet. It was the winter of 1673 A.D., and Bedi had just entered his teens. Rumours about the illness and then death of the majestic and beloved Emperor Shāh Jahan had been afloat in the land. It was being widely talked about that a prosperous and glorious reign had come to an end. A complete blackout¹ of the news about the illness of Shāh Jahan had been scrupulously arranged by Dārā Shikoh, the eldest son of Shāh Jahan and the aspirant to his throne. Naturally enough, wild rumours spread in the country.

Suddenly the people of Benar learnt that prince Shujā' the Governor of Bengal, had proclaimed himself emperor and was proceeding with his armies to Shāh Jahanabad to seize the Peacock Throne. Ominous forebodings, therefore, filled the minds of the people.

Shujā' reached Benares on January 24, 1659 but was surprised by Sulaimān Shikoh, who had been deputed² by his father Dārā Shikoh to meet Shujā'. At his discomfiture, Shujā' fled back and reached Patna on February 15, 1658. As Sulaimān Shikoh was recalled on account of the threatening coalition of Aurangzeb and Prince Murād, he made peace with Shujā', and left for Dehli. Shujā' then made Patna a scene of great political activity and began to make preparations³ for the final fight for the throne. He appointed one Mirzā 'Abdul Latif as the commander of his armies and vigorous efforts were made to collect treasure for paying the soldiers. Mirzā 'Abdul Latif was a kinsman⁴ of Qalandar,⁵ and it was on this account that for three months Bedi also was in Tirhut⁶ with the army of Shujā'. Bedi, therefore, saw with his own eyes how the upheaval went on.

Like Shujā', Murād also had hurriedly crowned himself in Gujarat. But Aurangzeb, who was in the Deccan at that time as the viceroy for the second time, assumed no royal functions. He made alliance with Murād and proceeded towards the North. At Dharmat,⁷ towards the close of April 1658, both the brothers fought stubbornly against Maharaja Jaiwant Singh (who had come to check them) and defeated him. Then Dārā Shikoh himself came out at the

1. Sāqī, Musta'id Khān, Madsir-e-'Ālamgir, p. 3.

2. Ib. id.

3. Chahār 'Uqar, Safdar Edition, p. 118; Sāqī, Musta'id Khān, Madsir-e-'Ālamgir, p. 1.; Khalī Khān, Muntakhbatul Lubb, II, p. 43.

4. Chahār 'Uqar, Safdar Edition, p. 118.

5. See supra, where it has been told that Mirzā Qalandar was a step-brother of Bedi's father. Hence Bedi does not acknowledge Mirzā 'Abdul Latif as his own relative.

6. A country towards the north of Patna.

7. Sāqī, Musta'id Khān, Madsir-e-'Ālamgir, p. 3.

head of a huge army, and fought the sanguinary and decisive battle of Sāmūgarh¹ on May 29, 1658. The fortitude and composure of Aurangzeb as a general and the fiery valour of Murād won the day. Poor Dārā turned a fugitive and Shah Jahān was made a captive. Not long afterwards, Aurangzeb thought it advisable to put Murād also into prison, where he was finally put to death.

Aurangzeb was hot in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh in the Punjab, when he learnt that Shujā' was proceeding towards the capital to wrest the crown from him. Leaving others to follow up Dārā, he returned by rapid marches and gave a crushing defeat to Shujā' at Khajwa,² near Allahābād, on January 2, 1659. There was a general stampede³ of the defeated forces, and Bedil, as an eye-witness, gives a vivid description of the same in the following poem :

هیچکس را در بساط آرمیدن جا نماند
گردد وحشت دل زد چندانکه نقش پا نماند
هر طایفه تنگ شد حولانگه سحلی جهان
آنقدر میدان که کس مؤکل کند بالا نماند
تیغ نومیدی جهانی راز یکدیگر برید
رنگ بر روی حرف بر لب ربط در اعضا نماند
آتش جرأت قسرد و جوهر شجرت نداشت
زانهمه صوت بغیر از رعب در دلمها نماند
بسکه هر یک پیش رقت از عاقبت گه آمد
در خیال آباد امروز کسی فردا نماند
الرحیل زد یگوش خوانا کان غرور
استقامت چون شرور در طینت بخارا نماند
باله با کسپیار ز خور رقتی دربار داشت
هر کرا دیدم درین صحرای وحشت و نماند

[In the field of repose room was left for none,

The dust of panic was flown so violently that footprints
disappeared.

For the people the race-course of the world narrowed to such
an extent

That even the place, where one could lift one's eyelashes,
was not left.

The sword of disappointment cut crowds asunder.

Red rage on the face, speech on tips, and connection between
limbs was no more.

1. Sāqī, Musta'id Khān *Mauzari-Ālamgiri*, pp. 6-7.

2. Ibid., pp. 13-15.

3. *Chahār Unsur*, Safdarī Edition, p. 120.

The fire of valour died out, and the essence of zeal melted away.

Out of that courageous stand nothing but awe remained in hearts.

Inasmuch as everyone had gone ahead of the place of refuge.

In nobody's thoughts about today there was idea of tomorrow.

The word "Departure," struck the ears of the negligent and proud, and

Firmness in the nature of stone disappeared like a spark.

The groans reached the edges of the mountain, and

Whomever I saw he vanished from this Sahara of panic.]

Shujā' fled¹ to the Arakans where he was killed by the wild Gonds. Bedl also wandered² about in the jungles on horseback, with Mīrzā 'Abdul Latīf, for full ten days, and then reached Patna after suffering indescribable hardships.

The ignominy and captivity of Shāh Jahān had a lasting effect upon Bedl. In his childhood, like the other people of his age, he had evolved a sentiment of reverential love towards Shāh Jahān, and the infidelity of his sons, therefore, pained Bedl beyond description. He was at 1 feeling the pangs when, in his old age, at sixty or so,³ he was writing the concluding chapter of his autobiography,⁴ i.e. Chahār 'Unsur. He wrote about Shujā':

شاه شجاع این شه جهان بیاری پدر را سکنه مضمون سلطنت انیش
و چنیت جنوبی بی تامل عزیم دارالخلافت دہلی کشید تا پایہ منور ہوش بخطہ ہند
پردہ بلند گرداند۔⁵

[Shāh Shujā' son of Shāh Jahān, thought that imperial administration had been paralysed owing to the illness of his father, and, therefore, inconsiderately, he marched his mad horse upon the capital of Delhi, so that he might raise the pedestal of the pulpit of greed with a vain Khubha.]

And although for an exceptionally long period of over sixty years,

1. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubāb*, II, p. 58.

2. Chahār 'Unsur, *Şafdarī Edition*, pp. 120-121.

3. Bedl finished Chahār 'Unsur in 1116 A.H. - 1704 A.D. when he was sixty-two years old.

4. Chahār 'Unsur, pp. 3, 4. He says:

احوال دیگران زچہ برخود فرودہ بیدل رخود بگو کہ تو ہم کم بنودہ

[Why have you added to yours the account of others? Bedl, talk about yourself, because you too are not an insignificant person.]

5. Chahār 'Unsur, *Şafdarī Edition*, p. 118.

he had heard encomiums of the 'living saint' Aurangzeb, he wrote ironically about him:

اورنگ زیب عالمگیر نو عرم فرمان روائی دهلی سبقت کرده متوق خدمت پدر
پیش از دیگران بجا آورد 1-

[With the object of becoming the sovereign of Dehli Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr took the lead, and discharged his duty to his father before others.]

The mighty quake was, however, over, and, after the coronation of Aurangzeb, normal conditions soon returned, and Bedil too resumed his studies. After this we shall hear very little about Mīrzā Qalandar, because he left for Bengāl,² and if at all he came back, Bedil did not live under his protection. One can therefore, safely assert that the war of succession was a milestone in the life of Bedil.

There is nevertheless one incident of Bedil's life connected with Mīrzā Qalandar, which probably belongs to this period.³ One day, at Rānī Sāgar, on the bank of a tank, whose water was crystal clear, Mīrzā Qalandar arranged a convivial meeting.⁴ Graceful female singers were invited. One of them, in the excitement of the dance, upturned a cup and wine flowed out. Fierce glances were, therefore, cast at her from the assembly. At that moment Bedil apologised on her behalf in this vein:

زدست ساقی اگر جرعه چکید بخاک در ایرویه تو چرا موج ناز بین انداخت
نه ریشه در کم ساقی نه نغزشی در جام که گویم از کفش انداخت آن و این انداخت
دمی که چشم تو ساقی پیاله کرد نگه قدح زدست شد و باده بر زمین انداخت
بحسن شوخ زمانی عتاب کن که چرا بجام آتش ازین لعل آتشین انداخت
پیاله چیست که در بزم شوخی زب هزار آینه آب رخ این چنین انداخت

[From the hands of Sāqī a draught of wine fell down on earth,

1. *Chahār 'Unqur*, p. 118

2. Page 33, *infra*.

3. I have not been able to decide finally where to string this incident. Reference to Rānī Sāgar would induce me to connect it with the constant visits of Mīrzā Qalandar to that place, where he went to see Maulānā Kamāl. But the sacred object of his journey forbids me. The diction and phraseology of the verses suggest that the incident took place when Bedil had obtained sufficient mastery over the language. But as there is no indication of Bedil's meeting his uncle after his departure to Bengāl, I would say that it happened at the conclusion of War of Succession. But then its spirit is not in accord with the spirit of the post-war days.

4. *Chahār 'Unqur*, pp. 54-55.

leaving the mare behind when Bedil had gone a distance of one kos. Bedil was now left with no alternative but to mount the mare. After travelling a distance of three kos, a place called Serai-Deg was reached in the evening. The darvish had already arrived there. They passed the night in that serai (inn).

Next day Bedil covered the remaining nine kos on the same mare which had again been cleverly placed at his disposal. They reached Mehl in the afternoon. The mare was gratefully handed over to Jān Muhammad at the door of Khwāja Shāh Muhammad, and Bedil went to the house of his uncle. Next day the Khwāja's sons came to see him as usual, and Bedil was overjoyed with gratitude for the kindness shown to him by Jān Muhammad.¹

Before proceeding further, I would like to pause a little. This journey is manifestly a very important event of Bedil's life, and we can draw several conclusions. Bedil had a servant with him and he says that stars soon appeared when he had travelled only a few miles. These things show that he was brought up in a well-to-do family. And, in spite of the troublesome nature of the journey, Bedil set forth on the journey and also he did so a range for a guide. This shows a certain self-confidence but also a knowledge of the road to Mehl. Again, the sons of Khwāja Shāh Muhammad came to welcome him as usual and we, therefore, learn that they were playmates. It is a positive proof of the fact that Bedil passed not a negligible part of his childhood in Mehl. The whole picture, therefore, stresses the point that Patna and Mehl are intimately connected with the early days of Bedil.

It appears that when Mirza Qasim had left for Patna, Bedil began to live in Patna with his maternal uncle Mirza Zaki who had attained a high degree of prominence in Patna and Fagh (jurisprudence). His house was, therefore, a rendezvous for the men of erudition who came there for philosophical discussions. Bedil also attended these meetings and must, as a boy, have heard and assimilated what was discussed there. Bedil describes how in such a meeting problems of metaphysics and philosophy were speedily distinguished as non-existent. Abdul Fazl, a young son of Bedil, had now disappeared and he displayed his literary pretensions on every occasion. At the end of

1. Bedil gives a supernatural tinge to the incident towards the end. He says that the sons of Khwāja Shāh Muhammad were extremely kind and that they had a daughter named Jān Muhammad. See also, page 11, of *Chahār-Ushāq*. Bedil says that when he was a child he used to go to the house of Shāh Muhammad with others a part in an unusually elegant and elegant language. The author again comes to such like apparitions in the course of Bedil's biography.

2. *Chahār-Ushāq*, Saharal Edition, p. 72.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

At this meeting he composed the following *qaṭʿa* at which *Shāh Abul Faiz* very much appreciated:

ی دل رنج و نشاط دوران گذر از غمی و کم و بیش و آس و بیکار
در گشتن دهر چون نسیم دم صبح آزاده در آ و دامن نشان بگذر

[O heart, think not of the sorrows and pleasures of the world,
Think not also of increase and decrease or of the difficulties
and convenience

In the garden of the world like the morning breeze,
Come with a free mind and pass on with a light spirit.]

Mirzā Zarf was a trader,¹ and, perhaps, as such in 1071 A.H. (1660 A.D.) he went to Cuttack, the capital of Orissa. Mirzā Bedl also accompanied him. Cuttack² is situated on the Mahānadi and is a trade centre of some importance. People say it was founded by a prince named Makar of the Kesari or Loh dynasty. Since the reign of Akbar the Great it had been the capital of Mughlī subedars, and when Bedl went there Khān Daurān Sayyid Muḥammad³ was the *Shubedār* of Orissa. Cuttack has a picturesque appearance in the apex of the Mahānadi and its branch the Katjarā. It has an extensive plain and lofty trees which line the foot and the sides of a chain of high mountains. Surrounded on all sides by such fascinating scenes, he lived in a house on the riverbank,⁴ and, I am sure, the irresistible charm of these surroundings captured his imagination and developed his aesthetic taste. In his *Chahār Chūsh*, Bedl makes a mention of the flowering meadows⁵ of Cuttack.

We already know that Mirzā Zarf was a learned man. I think, he wanted to teach the commentary of the Holy Qurʾān to Bedl, and, with a view to do this, one day he had a disputation with the boy on *ṭibb al-jinn*.⁶ Suddenly, a dervish came and said that a saint had come to see them. They welcomed the saint most heartily. He was very kind to Bedl especially and remarked, "Thank God, both of us have arrived here together. Now we shall always enjoy each other's company." He then displayed his mastery of the exegesis by explaining most lucidly a few verses from the Holy Qurʾān. Both, Mirzā Zarf and Bedl, were so much impressed that at every meeting they developed sincere and everlasting attachment for him. When the

1. *Chahār Chūsh*, p. 50.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 42.

5. *O Maʿrūf, Bāb-e Maʿrūf and O Maʿrūf-e Maʿrūf-e Cuttack*, pp. 22-23.

Chahār Chūsh, p. 54.

6. *Chahār Chūsh*, p. 43.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 38.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

saint was departing, he turned towards Bedil and said, "I have discovered your secret. Let me be a partaker in it." By an act of chivalry the saint had discovered the secret of Bedil's love for God, which he had, so far, kept concealed from every other person and which had caused endless hurrung¹ in his breast.

The name of this saint was Shāh-e-Qāsim Hawāshī² and he had arrived in Orissa from India in 1071 A.H. (1660 A.D.), the same year when Bedil also arrived there. Bedil was eloquent when he speaks of the saint. A fair analysis of these laudatory effusions discloses that the saint was well versed in Grammar, Exegesis, and Metaphysics and could profusely cite scriptural quotations. He had passed through all the stages of mysticism, had attained the Unitive State and was the *Poiet* (پوئیت) of his times. A saint of high spiritual standing as he was, he could, now and then, display miracles.³ Association with such an eminent spiritual leader was, therefore, very useful for Bedil, because he was still at the formative stage of his life. Whatever Bedil wrote,⁴ in verse or prose, was shown to Shāh-e-Qāsim Hawāshī who always generously encouraged him.

During his stay at Cuttack, Bedil studied selections⁵ from the *Tayfurat al-Awāk* of Shāh Faizaddīn 'Auliya, and one day⁶ when he was deep in thought Shāh-e-Qāsim unexpectedly came in. Shāh Shāh enquired what the matter was. Bedil replied that he was pondering over the following saying of the saint *Shāh* (334, 945):

اتصوف شرک لانه میانت القلب من غیر ولا غیر

[Shāh is polytheism, because it is the guarding of the heart from the vision of 'Other' and 'other' does not exist.⁸]

Shāh-e-Qāsim was highly pleased to know it, and asked Bedil to prepare a collection of the sayings of saints. Bedil readily acted upon his advice, and, at the end of the preface of his work, he wrote a poem in which unambiguous references to the different problems of mysticism were made. This poem also won the approbation of Shāh Shāh. The collection unfortunately has not come

1. *Chahār 'Ussar*, pp. 42, 44. At page 44 we find that Mirrā Zarif complained to Shāh-e-Qāsim about the indifference of Bedil to studies which he sometimes showed. Then Shāh-e-Qāsim said in private to Bedil, "You are a strange fellow. You have concealed your secret even from your own relatives."

2. *Chahār 'Ussar*, p. 29.

3. An eminent figure in mystic hierarchy.

4. *Chahār 'Ussar*, pp. 32-40.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

8. I acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Nicholson for this translation. See Nicholson, R. A., *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, p. 38.

down to us, but the poem has been given¹ in *Chahār 'Unsur* and has sixty-two couplets.

On another occasion, Shāh-e Qāsim was sitting² in the house of Mirzā Zarf and some literateurs had a soiree there. By and by, discussion centred on the figures of speech. The poet Vellāh³ and Herāt was also there who, Bedī says, was a Tazūd⁴ poet; and whose mastery over language and colloquial images (نمکین عبارت و معانی رنگین) have been acclaimed by Bedī. Modern people may regard it as frivolities of taste, but right from the days of Farīd, the renowned post-laureate of Akbar the Great, who wrote his commentary⁵ and a legal dotted letter, so⁶ Bedī had been known for the figures of speech in which letters either with or without dots were employed. In that assembly, too, such like figures of speech were discussed. Bedī also successfully tried his hands at these figures. On that occasion he composed the following couplet having all dotted letters which he later on incorporated⁶ in his *Mahnavī Tiliṣm-e-Hairat*:

چرخش تیغ زان چرخ چرخش غضب بشتی نشین نقش چرخش

[In motion, the wrinkles of its brow cut like sword, and
Anger adds to the effect of its wrinkles.]

When Shāh-e-Qāsim heard this verse he remarked that not only it rhymed well, but also it was picturesque.

In the same gathering Shāh-e Qāsim always asked Bedī to come forward with an appropriate quotation. This shows not only the regard of the saint for the brilliant young man but also the grand and goodly number of verses which Bedī always remembered. Moreover, such was the influence of Shāh-e Qāsim upon Bedī, and the affinity between the two souls was so close, that even in his dreams⁷ Bedī found himself quoting verses at the instance of Shāh-e Qāsim. One night in a dream Bedī found himself in a meeting with Shāh-e Qāsim, where a discussion was going on about 'Modesty.' The saint asked Bedī to come forward with an appropriate verse, and Bedī said extempore:

حیا خورم که گریه در خط ماند ادب گریه رقم خط در نقاش ماند

[I read 'Modesty' and my glances remained stuck in the dots
of the ink.

I was courteous and the ink of the writ remained in the dots.]

1. *Chahār 'Unsur*, Safdari Edition, p. 52.

2. Ibid., pp. 55-56.

3. *Savkush, Kalimatugh Shu'ra*, p. 124.

4. See *infra* for Tāzūl.

5. 'Abdūl Ghāfir, *A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, II pp. 41, 66.

6. Bedī, *Kuliyāt, Tiliṣm-e-Hairat*, Safdari Edition, p. 33, *Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 62.

7. *Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 69.

A few days later some persons were studying the pamphlet, *Selections from Taḡhṛat al Auliā*, in the presence of Shāh-e-Qāsim, and when that place was reached where a certain person asked Bāyazīd Būḡlā what 'Modesty' meant, then Shāh Sāhib remarked, "Bedil, its real import is the same you expressed so tersely that night." Bedil was of the opinion that Shāh-e-Qāsim Hwallāh ranked in spiritual attainments with Bāyazīd² (261/875), Ibrāhīm Adnam (160/777), Junad (298/910), and Shiblī (334/945), the celebrated mystics of Islām.

Once, in connection with his commercial concern, Mirzā Zarīf went to Kesari³—a town which, Bedil says, was at a distance of six days' journey from Cuttack and had a dry hot climate. Of course, Bedil too went with Mirzā Zarīf and was there for a period of five months. On account of the extreme heat of the place Bedil fell dangerously ill with typhoid fever. On the night of crisis Bedil dreamt that Shāh-e-Qāsim had arrived to enquire after his health and spread his mantle upon him. Soon the fever was gone and Bedil was convalescing. Seven days later a messenger brought an epistle from Shāh Sāhib stating that distance could not separate two harmonious souls; they might not see each other, but in reality they were always close together.

In Orissa we observe a strange spiritual⁴ awakening in Bedil. He considered himself above all worldly considerations. Material possessions, hopes and fears, worldly honour and dishonour alike, ceased to have any value for him. Whether awake or asleep he was occupied only with the thoughts of the Absolute. It was a burning passion with him which consumed his soul. In a fit of ecstasy he would cry out :

از هر چه سرائت فروئی خود گوئی چه گوئی که چوئی

[Thou transcendest my praises of Thee,

Say Thyself, what should I say, how art Thou?]

In this state of mind one night in Cuttack in 1075 A.H. (1654 A.D.) he saw in a dream that all the surroundings were illuminated and he was reciting the couplet given above. Suddenly, he heard the following reply :

از ما با ماست هر چه گوئیم ما همچو توئی دیگر چه گوئیم

1. 'Aṭṭār, *Taḡhṛat al Auliā*, p. 97.

2. *Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 29.

3. *Ibid*, p. 41. I tried my level best to find out Kesari from Gazetteers, Geography books, and maps, but failed. The Kings of Kesari dynasty built temples at Bhubaneswar, Naligiri, Udyogiri, and Renuagiri. It is just possible one of these places was called Kesari in those days. The last three places are within 25-39 N. and 85-20 E. near the sea-coast and their climate in the summer season is very hot and dry. Also these places are farther removed from Cuttack.

4. *Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 63.

[Whatever we say is from us to ourselves,

We are like thee; what else should we say?]

- This was pantheistic in import. On hearing it, he awoke. Bedil says that at that time he was experiencing a novel spiritual felicity. Early contact with saints was after all bearing fruit.

Bedil has remarked that he was with Shāh-e-Qāsim in Orissa for three years.¹ But he reached there in 1071 A.H. (1659 A.D.) and from the preceding paragraph we learn that he was there till 1075 A.H. (1663 A.D.). When all these things are put together we arrive at the conclusion that he must have gone to Orissa towards the end of 1071/1659, and returned in the beginning of 1075/1663.

Bedil was now twenty-one years old—in the full bloom of life. Middle-sized,² broad-shouldered, and with a stout body, he had a very handsome face. He shaved himself clean. The arches of his eyebrows beautifully approached each other, and his brilliant broad forehead was indicative of the greatness which was destined for him. He spoke in low tones which only heightened the effect of his impressive and dignified appearance.

A descendant of the strong and energetic Mughals as he was, he possessed herculean strength, to develop which he had made sustained efforts ever since his childhood.³ He had practised the art of wrestling, and every day for the sake of exercise, he would sit and stand four thousand times. He was also extraordinarily fleet-footed. Khushqū says that during the days when Bedil was in Patna a trader brought for sale a fine Mesopotamian⁴ horse worth Rs. 1,000. He had a mind to buy it, and he wagered that if the horse proved his equal in race, he would pay Rs. 2,000; but if he outdistanced it, he would get the horse free. The owner agreed and himself jockeyed his horse. The race began in an extensive field and very soon Bedil was flying far ahead of the horse. Khushqū says that although Bedil won the race, still he was magnanimous enough not to take the animal as agreed upon.⁵

Fickleness of Fortune had always marred the happiness of Bedil. He lost his parents when he was but an infant. His kind and loving

1. *Chahar Unsur*, p. 29.

2. Khushqū, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 364.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.* We know Bedil never returned to Patna after he had left it in 1075 A.H. (p. 31, *infra*). This race, therefore, took place at this time.

5. I do not know how to believe Khushqū for this story of a race with a horse.

uncle left him¹ and went away to Bengal, when he still needed his protection. He was now happy under the care of his maternal uncle Mirzā Zarīf, and was busy in his studies when, alas, this guardian also passed away. He felt a bitter grief, and mourned this loss in a poem² wherein the following hemistich occurs as a cronogram :

نیک فرجام عاقبت محمود

This numerically comes to 1075 A H

There was now none to support him. He had no source of income. How to arrange for the daily expenses was a constant headache. An old woman,³ with crooked back, visited Bedil's house and used to supply commodities to him daily. She was very kind to him. In these straitened circumstances also she looked after him. But this could not continue any longer. Loans could serve only as a temporary expedient. His friends advised him to go to Dehli, the Imperial capital, where he could show his worth. He loaded his simple effects (that is an ordinary carpet and an earthen jug) on a horse, and, with reins in his hands, went to say goodbye to the old woman. He said *impromptu* :

سر پر چہب کونئی نہیں تب دشمن آہن کہیں
ہفتہ نگری چہڑ دیر اب بدل چلے بدیس

[When there is no guardian all are my enemies,
Bedil leaves Patna town and goes to a foreign land.]

The hunch-backed old woman was very tender-hearted. Tears rolled down her cheeks and she said sorrowfully :

سر پر مایا رام ہے بہن کہ بدے بے خبری بدل بھی کر مت چہڑو ہوتا آہن نگری

[God is the guardian, why then so much impatience ?
Bedil, don't leave it, my son. It is native town.]

1. Bedil says that as Mirzā Zarīf insisted that he (Bedil) should accompany him to Orissa he was separated from his uncle Mirzā Qalandar. Whether Mirzā Qalandar left for Bengal when he found out the determination of Mirzā Zarīf for taking away Bedil with him is not of much significance. Also we do not possess any statement regarding the reunion of the nephew and the uncle after the latter's return from Bengal. It was therefore permanent separation. For Mirzā Zarīf's insistence, see *Chahār Unqur*, p. 29.

2. Bedil, *Kulliyāt, Qissas*, Safdarī Edition, p. 48.

3. *Shād 'Azīmābādī, Nazm-e-Wafā*, p. 69; *The Oriental College Magazine* for August 1932. Also reference in the *Urdū Magazine* for January 1923, p. 59.

But Badil was determined to leave. He said: *راهر خدا بس* which gives 1075 A.H. (1664 A.D.) as the year of his departure, and set off all alone for Dehli.

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1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdar Qutbī*, p. 51. Here is the stanza :

از ملک بهار بوی دلی	چون اشک روان شدیم بیکس
همدوش شهود فصل پیچون	همراه حضور فیض اندس
سال تاریخ این عزیمت	در باب کد راهبر خدا بس

[From Bihar to Dehli,
I set off all alone like a tear,
Shoulder to shoulder with God's grace, and
In the company of His favours.
The date of this journey
May be found from : 'God, and none else, the guide,']

CHAPTER II

Bedil—An Itinerant

We left Bedil on his way to Dehli. Shād 'Azīmābādī says¹ that it was a difficult journey for him. According to the same authority, Bedil, on his arrival in the Imperial Capital, found that poetical contests and symposiums were commonly held, in which renowned poets took part, and, as he possessed a critical judgment and sublime ideas, his genius cast a novel lustre over that galaxy of illustrious poets, and he, therefore, became famous in the capital within no time. This statement of Shād 'Azīmābādī is only partially correct. Bedil's talents were not recognised so suddenly; but it is a fact that, within a few years of his arrival in Dehli, Bedil enjoyed unrivalled fame in the capital.

We do not know which of the eminent living poets took part in those contests.² Qhānī Kashmīrī was alive (d. 1079/1668-69), but he was living in Kashmīr. The great Shīb³ (d. 1080/1659-70) also had left for Iran. As regards Nāṣir 'Alī Sarhndī⁴ (d. 1108/1696-97), the chief rival⁵ of Bedil, he came to live in Shāhjahānābād in the beginning of the twelfth century of the Hījra. And, so far as Muḥammad Afzal Sarkhūsh⁶ (d. 1126/1714), another rival⁷ of Bedil, is concerned, he too settled in the capital towards the later part of his life. 'Āqī Khān Rāī,⁸ a favourite noble of Aurangzeb and a mystic poet, could be expected in Dehli at that time, and we know Bedil developed very intimate friendly relations⁹ with him, but as nothing definite is known, I cannot say that he came in contact with Bedil in those days.

1. Shād 'Azīmābādī, *Nasr-e-Iyaṣan*, p. 71. *Oriental College Magazine*, August 1952.

2. Āzād Bilgramī, *Sar-e-Āzād*, p. 103.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

5. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Asirātul Khayāl*, pp. 309-90; Sarkhūsh, *Kalimātush Shua'rā*, p. 15; Khushgū, in *Ma'arif*, July 1942, p. 43.

6. Āzād Bilgramī, *Sar-e-Āzād*, p. 143; Sarkhūsh, *Kalimātush Shua'rā*, p. 51.

7. Sarkhūsh, *Kalimātush Shua'rā*, p. 15; Khushgū, in *Ma'arif*, July 1942, p. 43.

8. Sarkhūsh, *Kalimātush Shua'rā*, p. 40; Sher Khān Lodhī, *Asirātul Khayāl*, p. 288; Salāḥud Dīn, *Bazm-e-Timūrīya*, pp. 261-69.

9. Khushgū, in *Ma'arif*, July 1942, pp. 40-41.

Although we may not definitely know the names of the poets referred to by Shāh, yet it is a fact that on his arrival in Shāh Jahānabad Bedil was introduced to a new style in poetry. He himself has admitted that as long as he was in Persia he was writing in the style of the classical Persian poets. Now he had found that quite a new style flourished in the Mughal capital—the style which has been called the Indian style, or سبک هندی. Bedil enumerates a few poets of the era of Eḡbur, Jahāngir, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb in the preface to his *Majmaʿiʾ al-Miḡḡas-Aʿzam*, which he wrote a couple of years later, and from there we learn that he had studied the works of the poets of the Mughal period. He names Zafarī (d. 1011/1603), Hādī (a poet of Eḡbur's times), Zafāʾī (d. 1001/1602), Sāʾik (a poet of the days of Shāh Jahān), Tāib (d. 1036/1627), Saʿadī (arrived in India in the days of Aurangzeb), Shāfiʿī, a poet of the times of Jahāngir and Shāh Jahān, Siʿlū (d. 1051/1642), and Šīrī.

When we consider the salient characteristics of the poetry of these poets, we discover that with them originality of thought, elegance of style and freshness of expression were of paramount importance. To as they had termed کونى گوى. If we go through *Kulliyāt-e-Sayyid*, a *Tarīkh* of the poets of those times, we find that at every page glowing tribute has been paid to almost every poet for the element of freshness in thought and expression. Naṣrī (d. 1023/1614) in particular had shown a knack for the coinage of new words and suggestive compounds. Muḥḥ Zafarī, a contemporary of Naṣrī, had evolved a new graceful and ornate prose style and his *Šāh Adm*, which is a monument of perfect rhyme, sweetness of illustration, and warmth of emotion, had carved out for him a niche in the domain of literature. Kāʾin (d. 1107/1695), Šāb and Qasr Kashmīrī, the ultra Mughalites,² had marvellously employed³

1. Page 22 supra.

2. Three styles, viz., 'Irāqī, Kharāsānī, and Hindī have been differentiated in Persian poetry. See Shāhāli, *ʿAlī Akbar, Rawābiṭ-e-Aschīq-e-ʿAlī Akbar-Hād*. Though the author's attitude, towards Persian poetry produced in India, is basically of negative character, yet it throws some light on the contemporary question.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Sāfidari Edition; *Muḡḡḡat-e-Adām*, pp. 2-3.

4. *ʿAṣṣāʾ Bīrī*, *ʿAṣṣāʾ-e-Adām*, pp. 34, 4, 43, 61, 37, 9, 10, 171 and 107 for Zafarī, Zafāʾī, Tāib, Saʿadī, Saʿadī, Šāb, Qasr, and Saʿadī respectively. See also *Rawābiṭ-e-Aschīq*, p. 64, for Saʿadī. *Literary History of Persia*, III, 472, for Hādī.

5. Qasrī, A., *History of Persian Language & Literature at the Mughal Court*, III, 101.

6. Ibid., 136, 194, 203.

7. Shāh Nāʾimān, *Shāʿir-e-Adām*, III, 170, 173.

8. *ʿAṣṣāʾ Bīrī*.

کبہ در طبع ملائم نکند شور و س
نار از حوش غار است بینی که نم است

poetical aptology (حسن تعلیل) and aptness of illustration (عنایه) and they were known for their original conceits (معنی آفرینی) and colourful images (رنگین خیالی).

Bedil could not remain indifferent to these elements in Persian poetry. According to Khushgū,¹ critical observation indisputably affirms the fact that Bedil followed Zuhūrī in writing prose. Besides, the Masnavī *Muḥit-e-A'zam* of Bedil to which he himself gives the name² of *Ṣāqī Nāmā*, is unmistakably an echo³ of the *Ṣāqī Nāmā* of Zuhūrī. In the preface to *Muḥit-e-A'zam*, referred to above, we learn, however, that Bedil recognised only the genius of Ṣāib. Bedil may not acknowledge his indebtedness to the Tāzagū Shu'arā, but his works undoubtedly point out that he was enamoured of the above-mentioned features of Tāzagū.⁴ I think, it would be desirable if at this stage a few verses of Bedil are also quoted, with a view to showing that this *new element* as reflected in his lyrical poetry:

بد فکر تازه گویان گر خیالم پر تو نمازد
در طوس گردد جدول اوزق دیوانها

بدیل از رنگین خیالی های فکرت می مزد
جدول رنگ بهار اوزق دیوان ترا

بیس از هر مصرعیم بوج نواکت می چکه
کرده ام رنگین بچون صید لاغر تیغ را

چنین فکر کند ما رنگ مدنی می چکه بدیل
توان گفتن دگ ابر بهار این نمود امارا

[If my thoughts are reflected in the minds of the Tāzagū poets
The rubric of the leaves of their Diwāns would change
into peacock feathers]

A theory has been advanced in the first hemistich and has been proved by a concrete example in the second.

حسن تعلیل Bedil

این نادر تعظیم نیرنگ هم آبروی کیست
حیرت است از قبله رو گرداندن محرابها

The cause of an ordinary phenomenon is told poetically in such a manner that our curiosity is aroused.

معنی آفرینی Bedil

مرده هم فکر قیامت دارد
آرسیدن چقدر سوار است

Here a new meaning has been found out from the anxiety about the Day of Judgment. Mental process involved in حسن تعلیل and معنی آفرینی is the same. See Shibli, *Shi'r al-'Ajam*, III, 170.

1. Khushgū, *Safina*, I, 120A (Patna University Library Ms. No. 4540).

2. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, 12.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ṣādar Edition, *Muḥit-e-A'zam*, pp. 2-3.

4. See again the elements of Tāzagū (تازه گوئی) given at p. 83, supra.

Because of your colourful courtiers, it behoves, O Bedil,
 That the leaves of your Divan should have a rubric made
 of the spring's colour.
 O Bedil, a wave of subtlety trickles down my hem'stitches
 I have dyed my sword with the blood of a lean victim.
 As the colour of conceits trickles down my pen in this way,
 O Bedil!
 One can say that these gutters are in reality the arteries
 of the vernal clouds.]

The words رنگ معانی and موج براکت, رنگین جوی, تارہ گویان may be noted in these verses. Moreover, in describing the figures مغالیه, حسن تعلیل and منی آلرنی at pages 33-34 under note number 8 I have purposely quoted from Bedil. All this shows that no sooner did Bedil say good-bye to Bihār and arrive in Dehli, than his mind was directed to new channels of expression.

Although Bedil was studying the current trends in Persian poetry, yet his main preoccupation was mysticism. During those days in Dehli he fasted continually, breaking the fast only with a handful of gram. This fasting made him very weak. Sūfīs say¹ شامدات بوارث, i.e. visions are the successors of the acts of self-mortification. When Bedil was in this way putting himself to tribulation for the sake of God, he had a strange experience. One night when the bazars had closed and he was returning after a stroll through them, he found himself bodily lifted in the air. If he stopped and contemplated he was on the ground, but as soon as he lifted his foot to walk he was again up in the air. He was much perturbed and trembled with fear. He made supreme efforts and with much difficulty was out of the bazars. When he was walking amidst the palaces of the nobles he was again lifted bodily, as if he was flying, and he could see above the high walls in the compound of a palace where a graceful lady was sewing in the light of a lamp. He was afraid lest the people should upbraid him for this act. He sat down for a while, and then somehow or other he went to the home of an acquaintance, from where he deputed a boy to ascertain if what he had seen was a fact. The boy returned and corroborated Bedil's experience even to the minutest details. For a long time Bedil remained disturbed on account of this happening.

Soon in Dehli he came across a Sūfī who was firmly established in the path and was already known to him. One day they

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Ġishār-e-Uṣṣar*, pp. 116-18.

2. Abul Khair, in *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 63.

were talking about the ecstasied saints.¹ It was now 1076 A.H. (1665-66 A.D.) just a year after his marvellous dream in Orissa.² One of the persons, who were present there, said that a saint lived in the ruins of the city, who for weeks on end, cared little for eating and drinking, but when anything of the kind, even in very big quantities, was presented to him, he swallowed it up in a moment. In spite of his humbleness, his appearance was so majestic that none dared look at him. As at some previous date he was seen in Kabul, he was called Shāh-e-Kābul. After that talk, when they sat down for dinner, Shāh-e-Kābul suddenly made his appearance. All stood up to show respect to him and meal was offered to him. From the very beginning the saint was looking graciously at Bedil and now preferred to share his dish. After taking a few morsels he held Bedil's hand in his own and made with him for his residence. There they sat down facing each other without uttering even a single word. The enchanting gaze of the saint was fixed at Bedil. It was in the afternoon that this eerie silence began and continued till late in the evening. Then all of a sudden Shāh-e-Kābul burst into a loud laughter and recited the following couplet which Bedil had heard in a dream in Cuttack:

از ما یا ماست هر چه گوئیم ما همچو توئی ذکر چه گوئیم

[Whatever we say is from us to ourselves,

We are like Thee; what else should we say?]

On hearing this Bedil began to tremble. The night was pitch dark; everything looked so weird. Bedil, therefore, was very much frightened. With quivering lips he asked who the author of the couplet was. The saint laughed again merrily and replied that he himself was the author, there being no room for doubt. At this the saint stretched himself and asked Bedil also to lie down and enjoy sleep.

But Bedil sat extremely terrified. He was almost unconscious. He liked very much to weep but could not. He was in this agitated condition till very late in the night, when he fell asleep. Next morning when Bedil awoke, Shāh-e-Kābul had already disappeared. Bedil made a thorough search for the saint for a long time, but failed to find him out.

This event removed all the doubts³ which Bedil had in his mind, and made him confident about the progress he had made in the spiritual field. Telepathic communications emanating from Shāh-e-Kābul appeared to Bedil as revelations from God Himself. He thought he had attained the unitive state and therefore he remarked:

1. *Kulīyāt-e-Bedil*, *Chāhār 'Unqar* p. 64.

2. Page 28, *supra*.

3. *Kulīyāt-e-Bedil*, *Şafdar Edition*, *Chāhār 'Unqar*, p. 64.

ءالم همه يك برق تجلی دیدم / محفل گردے داشت ای دیدم
 زن سرمد که حق کشید در دیه دن / هر چه لفتی دمد معنی دیدم

[I saw all over the world a lightning—like illumination.

The latter had no dust, I saw Laila herself.

Because of the collyrium that Truth applied to my eyes,

I saw the meaning wherever a word rose up.]

This event is of the utmost significance in the spiritual development of Bedil. Since his very childhood he had sincere yearnings¹ for establishing direct contact with Reality; and saints² like *Shāh-e Kamāl*, *Shāh-e-Yekā Āzād*, *Shāh-e-Fāz*, and *Shāh-e-Qāsim Huwādhī* had all told him he would reach the farthest stage in the mystic path. But the illumination at Ootack and its voluntary verification by *Shah-e-Kabul*, who knew nothing about that vision and the antecedents of Bedil, was certainly a convincing proof of the fact that the much desired union with God had been assured. That is why Bedil says symbolically that he had the vision of Laila (the Beloved) herself. Moreover, with Bedil, the vision, the saint, and his own person were one and the same thing. It had been emphatically reiterated that:

ما همچو توئی دیگر چه گوئیم

He has also asserted³ elsewhere:

در قس آباد عالم تحقیق اولیای / حضرت حق عی حق ازل - اگر از نور بآفتاب
 چشم کشوده آفتاب جز نور چه دارد / و اگر از آب به چشمه راه برده چشمه غیر از
 آب چه برسی آورد ؟

[In the realm of Truth, where profound convictions are the rule, the lovers of Reality are nothing but Reality Itself. If from the Light you turn to sun, the sun has nothing except Light; and if from the water you have been guided to the spring, the spring does not send forth anything except water.]

One would rush to the conclusion that it is pantheism pure and simple. But we have not yet considered enough data and we should, therefore, abstain from arriving at the final conclusion.

Bedil had made noteworthy achievements in the literary as well as the spiritual fields in the year 1076, 1665-66 and he would have, therefore, felt gratified, but two very sad events took place at this time which made him extremely sorrowful. *Shāh Jahān*, the Mughul

1. See *supra*.

2. See *supra*. *Chāhār 'Unqur*, p. 44.

3. *Chāhār 'Unqur*, p. 28.

Emperor, for whom Bedil had deep sentiments of respect and love, died of strangury, in captivity, in the Akbarābād fort on Monday,² the 26th of Rajab, 1076 A.H. (first of February, 1665). The poet was painfully reminded of all the good and grand qualities of Shāh Jahān, he, therefore, wrote most dolefully about the glorious past in a very sad elegy, and for the gracious Emperor's death he found out the following chronogram :

بر سر بر قرب بزدان جای وی

The elegy becomes more significant when we remember that Bedil could not expect any reward from Aurangzeb, who had made Shāh Jahān a captive.

In this very year Bedil's uncle, Mīrzā Qalandar, also breathed his last. If, for the sake of comparison, we study the short poem,³ written by the poet on the death of his uncle, we find, even after a cursory reading, that Bedil's emotional frame was shaken more perilously by the death of Shāh Jahān. Moreover, in his verses Bedil speaks frequently about the transitoriness of the world, e.g.

رنگها بکسر شکست آماده اند این گلستان عالم مینا گریست

[All colour is ready to disappear completely ;

This garden is a place where decanters are made and broken] and, I think, the woeful end of Shāh Jahān, rather the complete drama of his life, contributed not a little in his arriving at this conclusion. The war of succession, with all its piteous scenes, including the tragic end of once stately Dārā Shikoh, who was beheaded in 1659 A.D., after being paraded most disgracefully⁴ through the streets of Dehli, turned our poet's thoughts automatically⁵ to matters of eternal significance, the nature of life and man, and his relation to God. The truth contained in the following Quranic verse⁷ was brought home to him with greater force :

كُلُّ مَنْ عَلَيْهَا فَانٍ وَيَبْقَىٰ وَجْهَ رَبِّكَ ذُو الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ

[Everyone that is thereon will pass away. There remaineth but the countenance of thy Lord, the Mighty and Glorious.]

1. See supra.

2. Sāqī, Musta'id Khān. *Ma'āshir-e-'Ālamgarī*, p. 53, *Kutāb Khān*, *Muntakhah-ul Lubāb*, II, p. 187.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Sādhari, Edition, *Qitṭāṭ*, p. 57.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 47. The chronogram about the death of the poet's uncle is :

تلذذ یقت وصل جاودانی

5. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, pp. 98-99.

6. Arberry, Arthur J., *The History of Sufism*, preface XIX.

7. *The Holy Qurān*, LV.[26-27].

In a *Ghazal* Bedil elaborates his views more fully about the nature of the world. I quote only two verses:

جان هیچ وجه هیچ نفس هیچ و بقا هیچ ای هستی تو تنگ عدم تا بکجا هیچ
دیدی عدم هستی و چیدی الم دهر با اینهمه عبرت ندیدی از تو حیا هیچ

[Life is nothing. Body, and survival are all nothing.

Even non-existence, scorns your life. How long shall

"Nothing" continue?

You have observed the instabilities of life and have tasted the misfortunes of the world;

In spite of these warnings you do not feel ashamed.]

Although it is a profound truth, yet it looks very pessimistic but our poet-thinker did not stop here. We shall, in due course, see how side by side with this negative attitude, Bedil evolved his positive philosophy about life.

Bedil was in Dehli, but we do not know how long or where he stayed in the capital, nor do we know the means of his livelihood. We are trying to follow him chronologically, but many of the dates and other details, which we so earnestly desire to ascertain, have not been given either by Bedil himself or by his biographers. In the previous pages, a few events of the year 1076 A.H. (1665 A.D.) have been recorded. Now we take a leap and reach the year 1078 A.H. (1667 A.D.) in which Bedil completed his *Masnawi Muhi-l-e A'zam*. The date² of the completion of this poem is the numerical value of its name محیط اعظم. As the *Masnawi* is a masterpiece, it should have established the poet's fame in the literary world but, it appears, no notice of him was taken at the time. On some later date he sent a letter to Āqī Khān Rāzī, a courtier of Aurangzeb, with this *Masnawi* and a few *Ghazals*, and from that letter we learn that his first literary production did not bring Bedil the fame he had hoped for. The letter³ also shows that when it was written Bedil had already been introduced to Āqī Khān Rāzī, but the contact was only of short duration, because the poet was afraid lest the Nawāb should forget him. We do not know definitely how Bedil was introduced to the Nawāb. This much, however, is known that when Bedil arrived in Dehli for the first time, and began to take part in poetical contests Āqī Khān Rāzī was living there as the Superintendent⁴ of the Imperial Bathroom. Now as the Nawāb was himself a

1. Iqbal, Dr. Sir Muhammad *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 1.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Şafdarī Edition, *Muḥit-e-A'zam*, 3.

3. *Rasq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 12.

4. Shāh Nawāz, *Mo'ārafat Umrāh*, II, 81-22.

poet and also a mystic, he would have discovered Bedil in the course of those symposiums. In 1070 A.H. (1659-60 A.D.), Bedil wrote a second *Masnavi Tuhfa-i-Hayat* which he dedicated to 'Aq. Khān Rāzi. It shows that by that time their relations had certainly strengthened. I would, therefore, conclude that Bedil was introduced to 'Aq. Khān Rāzi a considerable time before 1070 A.H. and also that the poet wrote this letter to the Nawāb before this date and some time after the composition of *Ashk-e-Ajam*. When Bedil found out that this *Masnavi* was not received warmly, he sent a copy of it to the Nawāb and hoped and prayed that it might bring him credit.

Although the poet was not now an unknown figure in Dehli, yet he did not settle there, and, like a carwagh, he preferred wandering about. The restlessness of his soul, which had increased after his meeting with Shāh-e-Kābuli, was still there. One day he was passing through the valley of Bundaband—the land of monkeys and peacocks. The summer sun was shining brightly in the sky and it was awfully hot. Suddenly, Bedil developed eyecore, and the pain was so acute that he could not open his eyes. The affliction disturbed him much, and he thought he must have refuge somewhere until the malady disappeared. In this state he reached the marketplace of Mathura¹. He was a stranger there. He tried his utmost to find some shelter, but the people were ungenerous. In the tiny corner of a darrer's shop, he found room to seat himself. His eyes were shut and the pain was growing in intensity. Still he did not mention it, lest the darrer should turn him out. After some time a man came near the shop and stopped. The darrer paid his respect and requested him to take his seat, adding that the stranger (Bedil) would be asked to make room. But the newcomer said that the poor afflicted person, meaning Bedil, was his friend and he wanted to enquire after his health. It was a familiar voice. When Bedil opened his eyes, he saw Shāh-e-Kābuli smiling compassionately. Bedil rose respectfully and had hardly greeted Shāh-e-Kābuli when he was asked in a tone of authority, to lie down and sleep. Shāh-e-Kābuli added that he would wait there. When Bedil awoke Shāh-e-Kābuli had gone. He had come like the guardian spirit, and then disappeared. The eyecore had, however, healed. This happened two years after their first meeting, i.e. in 1072 A.H. 1661-62.

1. Sher Khān Lodhi, *Masnavi Kāshfi*, p. 263-64, Sāhib Khān Khān-i-Sāhib, p. 40, note.

2. *Asp'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 4.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Salford Edition, *Chahār Unqur*, p. 66.

Imperial Gazetteer of India: United Provinces of Agra and Oudh I, 331.

5. *Ibid.*, 369-70. It is the birthplace of Krishna and a great seat of idolatry.

6. Page 35, *supra*.

A.D.) because the first had taken place in 1075 A.H. (1663-66 A.D.)

- In the course of his wanderings Bedil went to Akbarābād¹. He makes no hint about the date of this visit to Akbarābād but from the mode of his life in that city I conclude that the visit was made during the period when he was comparatively an unknown figure.

One summer he was living there in obscurity, and had only a meagre stock of ground tragacanth (کنثره سودی) with him for eating. When it finished he began to starve. He thought it was meaner of spirit to beg for alms. He was reduced to the narrowest straits. One day he got up and, passing through the bazar, went to the riverside. Neither ablutions, nor sprinkling water on the head, nor drinking it could remove the pangs of hunger. He, therefore, decided to return to his residence to get ready for death which now appeared inevitable. He felt giddy when he reached the main gate of the city, and his legs staggered. He sat down but was afraid lest the people in the bazar should create a hel. of noise on seeing him in that state.

Pretending to be thinking of purification after easing nature he went under the shade of a building and placed his hands against its well-built wall to take rest. When he had regained his strength a bit, he began to find a lump of earth with his fingers from under the bricks. He thought he had found a grave, but in reality his fingers had picked up a coin of the times of Akbar the Great. Bedil believed God the Merciful had kept the precious coin for his needs since ages. By that coin Bedil was saved from starvation to death and he thanked God in this quatrain:

مرد شکر که احتیاج کوشش تعلیم آگاهم کرد آرز فضل ندیم
هر چند بدیوار رجوع آوردم دستم نرسید جز بداسان کریم

[A hundred thanks, because necessity which urged me to try,
Ultimately informed me of the favours of eternal God.
Although I turned towards the wall,
My hand did not reach except the skirt of merciful God.]

By this exercise of self-mortification Bedil showed resignation to the will of God, and, like the great Sūfīs, displayed abhorrence² for begging!

1 The following reference may be seen.

2 *Kun-e-Bedil*, Safavi Edition, *Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 119.

3. Abul Khair, Abū Sa'īd, in *Soufīs in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 16. Here the great mystic says that when he was practising self-mortification as a novice, he bound his self to eighteen things. One of them was abhorrence for begging.

On the main road from Akbarpura to Shāh Jānā Shāhī, the city of Mathura lies on the right bank of the Jamuna. During the days of Bedil when journeys were made mainly by road, a person travelling between the two imperial cities, necessarily passed through Mathura. In the course of his aimless rambles, during the period under discussion, Bedil went to Mathura for the second time also. Again, no date has been assigned but from the manner of his arrival in the city I conclude that the event belongs to this very period, i.e. 1072-70 A.H. (1657-68 A.D.).

Bedil says that one morning, when the sun had just risen, he started from Akbarpura, a village in the neighbourhood of Mathura. He saw a dazzling light in one direction, and he went thither. He beheld a few Sadhus sitting there. One of them cast such a lustrous and warm glance from his eyes that, for a protection against its heat which was burning his body, Bedil had to take shelter behind the tree trunk along the road. On account of this burning sensation, Bedil developed typhoid fever and consequently remained in Mathura for full three months. During the fever, he used to sprinkle camphor on his body, but this brought him little relief.

In 1079 A.H. (1663 A.D.) when Bedil had shown some tendency to settle down, he was married against his will. As he was intoxicated with Divine love, he could not think of sensual pleasures. But on the night of his nuptials he had a revelation which told him that, regardless of the issue, the marriage had to serve a purpose. He, therefore, agreed, and commemorated the occasion in this chronogram¹:

بشکست کل حقیقه من

After his marriage, Bedil began to lead a settled life in Dehli with his wife. Incidentally, he has stated² that the house where he lived was very elegant and that he had a maid-servant also. After two months' stay in the house, it was found that it was haunted by evil spirits. It has been told previously that Bedil knew the charms for the exorcism of such spirits. He has again stated³ that his powers in this connection had become a marvel for all. The genii in the house were completely annihilated by Bedil, and during the next fifteen years when he again came twice to the house, the neighbours told him that the place had been immune from the evil spirits since his first stay there.

1. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, 1, p. 383.

2. *Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 110.

3. *Kulliyāt-i-Bedil, Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 66.

4. *Ibid.* Q. 182, 5.

5. *Ibid.* *Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 113.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 114-5.

7. *Ibid.* p. 115.

مواظبت



Also quite involuntarily, Bedil displayed a miracle¹ (کرامت) in those days. A maid-servant was suffering from fever. One morning she was declared to be dead and her relations were weeping around her bed. Bedil went there. As a result of some sudden and mysterious impulse he drove a fist into her breast, and she stood up on her legs crying loudly. After this miracle people began to call him a saint, but he cared little for the any titles:

بدل به دو دوره عمر بخور مباح بنید تو نیستی است مسموم مباح
هر چند ابدال و قطب و غوث خوانند ای خاک بایر عیار مسرور مباح

[Bedil, don't be proud of this life of short duration,
Your foundation lies on non-existence. Don't prosper.
The people may call you *Abdāl*,² *Qutb* and *Ghawr*,
O earth, don't be pleased with this flying dust.]

While describing this incident Bedil makes the following significant remarks:

ز آن تاریخ تا امروز که می و نوج سال محسوب فرمت شمارست - آن خادمه
از مقیدان سلسله زندگیت.

[From that day to this date that thirty-five years have elapsed,
that maid-servant is still alive.]

Bedil wrote this sentence before he had finished one-half of the fourth *'Unṣur*, and he completed his *Chahār 'Unṣur* in 1116 A.H. (1704-05 A.D.). If the date of the composition of this line is taken to be 1115 A.H. (1703-04 A.D.), which seems probable, we can say that the miracle was displayed in 1090 A.H. (1115-33-1030), when Bedil was only twenty-six years old.

After his marriage Bedil joined the army like his forefathers. He was in the service of Prince 'Azam Shāh, son of Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr. Khushfā says that by joining the army Bedil wanted to cultivate his latent powers and also to have some means of living. Bedil says that the object of his getting himself enlisted as a soldier was to find a way of escape from the ever-present feeling of self-gratification at his own asceticism and godliness. These moral values must have weighed with him but at the same time it is undeniable that, as Bedil had to run a home, he wanted a sure source of income, and he, therefore, joined the army.

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Chahār 'Unṣur*, pp. 112-14.

2. These are the saints who form the inviolable hierarchy. *Qutb* is the supreme rank. Sayyid 'Alī Hujwī (d. 464-65 A.H.) has said that *Qutub* and *Qutb* mean one and the same thing. *Abdāl* is, however, of a lower rank. For a fuller discussion see *Alī Hujwī, Kulliyāt-e-Mashūh* (trans. Nicholson), p. 214; Nicholson, *The Mystical Islam*, pp. 123-24.

3. See *infra*. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 60; Khushfā, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 361.

Besides being a master of Persian, Bedil was well versed in the Turkish language also, and these qualifications made him popular with Prince A'zam Shāh who conversed in both these languages. Quite easily Bedil got the Mansab of 50, and was appointed as the Superintendent of the Prince's kitchen. Shah 'Adinādā II, as well as the compiler of *The Banks' Library Catalogue of Pers on Mus.*, says³ that Bedil got this Mansab in recognition of his poetical talents. But a knowledge of the character of Bedil, and of the manner in which he finally quitted the service of A'zam Shāh makes it abundantly clear that Bedil could not offer his poetical talents for sale in the market. I have mentioned it above that in those days Bedil was leading a respectable life in Shah Jahanābād. I think it was because of this Mansab.

In the beginning of his service in the army, Bedil was very much perturbed⁴ by conflicting views about life. On the one side, there were mendicant darwishes, who cared not a fig for the worldly possessions, and, on the other, there were worldly people who hankered after riches. He very much liked to share the blissful life of the former noble souls. But it was revealed to him that if poverty (فقر) of this type was the object of life, then the whole of this grand and superb creation was useless. The fact is, it was disclosed to him, that *Faqr* was the Essence, and its attribute was *Ghina*. If a man, living in the midst of riches, could show indifference, he was indeed a *Faqr*. This poverty, which was essentially of the spirit, required enormous mental striving, and anything got without striving did not become, according to Bedil, a high-minded person :

ماز هست بکسب دشواری کوشیدن است نه بر هوائی تن آسانی جوشیدن -

[Manliness means to grapple with difficulties, and not to long for a life of ease and inaction.]

Bedil was, therefore, of the opinion that means of livelihood should not be abandoned, when in particular no special pains were required to procure them. He concluded :

بی تردد جمع سیاه بزمش خوشتر است از کسب فقری باتلاش

[If means of livelihood are obtained without much effort,
It is better than the vocation of *Faqr* with much ado.]

One day* in Delhi while Bedil was in service, he was riding on a fine Arab horse through a bazar. Suddenly he saw that some people

1. *Khushqū*, in *Ac'artf*, May '942, p. 36.

2. *Catalogue of the Persian Mus. in the Banks' Library*, Ms. No. 381.

3. Shah 'Adinādā II, *Naẓā-e-Wāter*, p. 59. *The Oriental College Magazine for*
August 1932

4. *Kulliyāt-e Bedil*, *Chahār 'Unqur*, p. 67.

5. *Ibid*, pp. 67-68

were looking at him. He went ahead and there too a few persons were looking at him in surprise. One of them cried out, "Look! How is the madman running after the horse, and how does he dance when he approaches it?" Bedil turned his head and saw Shāh-e-Kābuli running after him. Immediately he climbed down the horse, and, with reins in hand, respectfully made his way towards the saint. Shāh-e-Kābuli reached first and lovingly embraced Bedil. At the instance of Shāh Sāhib, they repaired to a vacant shop where they sat sharing the secrets of each other. On that occasion Bedil said that he had been married, adding that according to a revelation he would get no issues. Shāh-e-Kābuli said, 'It would be as you have understood. We are singles (با افراد هستیم).' In support of this assertion he recited the following Qurānic verse:

وَلَمْ يَكُن لَّهُ كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ

Many and varied were the secrets revealed to Bedil on that occasion. He was surprised at their nature and extent. The infinite possibilities of the individuals (افراد) almost bewildered him. He was in this state of bewilderment (حیرت) for a very long time, and when he came to himself he found that Shāh-e-Kābuli had again fled. It was Bedil's third and last meeting with Shāh-e-Kābuli. The second had taken place in 1073 A.H. (1667-68 A.D.) and the third had now come two years later, that is in 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.). The overpowering effects of this last meeting were felt by Bedil even twenty years afterwards.

In the preceding paragraph mention has been made of the افراد. As Bedil has been ranked amongst this class of mystics, it is in the fitness of things that the peculiarities and privileges of the افراد should be given in brief. There is the highest rank in the hierarchy of saints, so much so that the Prophet (peace be on him) himself, the mystics say, had this rank before the Revelation. A Quṭb receives the illumination of Attributes (تحلی منات) while the *Afrād* are recipients of the Illumination of Essence (تحلی ذات). This shows the fundamental difference between a قطب and a فرد. These saints, who are unique (فرد) in their spirituality, are manifestations of the spirit of 'Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet (peace be on him). The *Afrād* conceal their secret, and are absolutely resigned to the Will of God, and hence they do not show miracles. When they attain perfection and advance in their spirituality they become the Poles of Reality and Unity (قطب حقیقت و وحدت).

1. The Holy Qurān, CXII 4.

2. Thānavī, Muhammad 'Alī, *Islāhātul Fawā'id*, II, 1107 and 1167-69; 'Andar Razāq, *Islāhātul Fawā'id*, p. 9.

We know that physically Bedil was a giant. One day when Prince A'zam Shāh was riding on horseback, and his usual retinue followed him along with Bedil, suddenly, a tiger appeared, jumped upon the horse, and killed many of the Prince's retinue. Bedil alone had the courage to attack the tiger and deal away with it as if it were a goat.¹

Bedil wrote his allegorical *Masnavi Tilmaz Hazrat* in 1030 A.H., and as he joined the army after his marriage in 1032 A.H., we conclude that he wrote this *Masnavi* when he was in the service of A'zam Shāh. The book was dedicated to 'Abd al-Khān Raz' and this shows that relations between the poet and the courtiers were growing more and more intimate. Moreover, the poet did not dedicate his *Tilmaz Hazrat* to A'zam Shāh. This also indicates that Bedil was not inclined to make a display of his poetical genius before the Prince.

When Bedil was in the service of A'zam Shāh he was seeking guidance in his poetical compositions from Maulānā 'Abd al-'Aziz 'Izzat' son of Maulānā 'Abd al-Rahmān of Akbarābād. He was a very learned man both in the revealed sciences and philosophy. He was considered matchless in the epistolary style and in writing poetry. He was a scholar in the art of *asbāb*. The Emperor wanted to raise him to the Marjān of Sa'd al-Hay Khān 'Alā'ī, the illustrious Prime Minister of Shāh Jahān. 'Abd al-'Aziz 'Izzat' was presented to Aurangzeb in 1050 A.H. (1663-70 A.D.) when the latter was in Akbarābād. The Emperor was impressed by the grand personality and the unique qualities of the Maulānā, and in a few days promoted him to the Marjān of Sa'ad al-Hay and 100 Sawar. In the *Rasul* of Bedil, we find four letters addressed to Maulānā 'Abd al-'Aziz 'Izzat'. They are all full of love and respect.

There were several poets in the service of Prince A'zam Shāh who were hired as critics of poetry and patron of poets. The names of these poets are: Husayn Shāhraz, Mir Muhammad Agha, Izz al-Sallam, Sa'd al-Hay Gulshān, and Khwāja 'Abd al-Hay Saqī. The *Tal'ih* of Izz al-Hay and Gulshān were suggested by Bedil. Izz al-Hay was also a pupil of Bedil. Khwāja Saqī says that all these poets associated themselves with and were friends of Bedil. The very biographer relates that on the day when Gulshān got his poetical name from

1. 'Ali Lutf Mirzā, *Gulshan-e-Hind*, p. 63.

2. Khwāja, in *Mas'arif*, May 1942, p. 361.

3. Saqī, *Mas'arif-e-'Alamgiri* pp. 98-99; Saqī, *Khawāss-e-Sa'ad*, p. 78.

4. *Rasul-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, pp. 60, 70, 79, 91.

5. Khwāja, in *Mas'arif*, July 1942, p. 4. For the additional knowledge about the poet, Saqī, in *Khawāss-e-Sa'ad*, pp. 84, 90. *Khawāss-e-Sa'ad*, Series-A.H.I., pp. 198, 200.

Bedil, Khushgū himself and Mir 'Abdus Samad Saktun also were granted their Takhallūs by Bedil. It is, therefore, certain that when Bedil was employed as a soldier, he had already gathered around himself a number of poets who admired him and who looked to him for guidance.

One day in the presence of the Prince a talk was going on about the contemporary poets. A favourite of the Prince remarked that not only in Shāh Jahānābād, but also in most of the other cities of India, no poet was a match for 'Abdul Qādir Bedil who was in the service of the Prince. A'zam Shāh then said that the poet should be asked to write a panegyric, and if it showed some inherent worth, not only Bedil's Manṣab would be raised, but also he would automatically rise in the Prince's estimation.

In the collection of Bedil's Qasā'id, there is a forceful Qas'ida² in praise of Prince A'zam Shāh. It has two parts, in the same metre, but with different rhyme, and from there we learn that Bedil too, like other poets, expected favours from the Prince. The poet presents his case most eloquently,

صورت احوام از طرز تخلص روشن است
بیدلیها چیده ام برخود روض رورگار

مرشود ابر عنایت آبیار مررعم
خوشه سال از پانی تا سر جمله دل آرم بیار

[My condition makes itself evident through my *noq ds plums*,
I have developed heartlessness on account of the ways of the world

~~~~~  
If the cloud of your munificence showers water over my field,

Like the ear of corn I shall grow hearts from head to feet.]

Whether this Qas'ida was actually presented to the Prince or not, is unknown. But, it appears, it was written as a result of an inner urge, in appreciation of the valuable qualities of the Prince. When, however, it was conveyed to Bedil that he was expected to sing the praises of the Prince like professional panegyric-writers, he went immediately to the Paymaster and tendered his resignation. His friends insisted that he should write the required encomium, but he was not prepared to prostitute his talents, and he, therefore, abandoned his Manṣab.

Khushgū has remarked<sup>3</sup> that Bedil was in the service of A'zam Shāh for a long period of twenty years. We have seen that

1. Sher Khān Lodī, Mir'ā'at Khayā, pp. 326-87; In Khān, 'Abdul Wahab Ashtarah-e-Benāzīr, p. 16; Āzād Bilg'āni, Khazāna-i-'Āmirah p. 132.

2. Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Qit'at, pp. 40-41.

3. Khushgū, in Mā'ārif, May 1942, p. 331.

here and there in his works, such as *Chiragh-i-Qutbi*, *Qasfi*, and *Rasid-i-Bedil*, makes hints about his life. I have, however, come across nothing which suggests that Bedil was in the service of A'zam Shah for even a long period. Moreover, Bedil's life was eventful. After persistent efforts I have been able to collect only a few events connected with Bedil's life as a soldier. This shows that the period of his military service was very brief. Besides, A'zam Shah was in the Deccan for the major part of his life, and none has ever expressed the view that Bedil too was in the Deccan at any time of his life. We know Bedil married in 1073 A.H. (1663-64 A.D.) and he joined the army after that. If he had been in the military service for twenty years, he could not join not earlier than 1100 A.H. (1688-89 A.D.). In that case he would not have been able to move about freely so frequently as we shall see in the following pages before the close of the eleventh century of Hira. Finally, Sa'at Khan Lodhi makes a positive statement to the effect that Bedil was in the service of A'zam Shah only for a few days.<sup>1</sup> I must reiterate that the biographical note about Bedil written by Sa'at Khan Lodhi was sent by the poet himself. The statement made by the biographer therefore, is perfectly reliable. In view of all this, I am of the opinion that Bedil was in the army for a very brief period.

Bedil has rendered his life as a soldier so dramatically that a storm kept raving in the heart of A'zam Shah for a long time. At one time he asked one Mir 'Atiqullah to go to Bedil and to bring his writings. As a consequence Bedil supplied a piece of his prose and, on learning that it had been appreciated by the Prince, Bedil thanked him at the solicitation of the above mentioned Mir. On another occasion, A'zam Shah sent the following letter, under his own signatures asking Bedil to enter his service again:

الحمد لله ولحمده كله خنوز قواي بدني<sup>2</sup> آن رفعت و شجاعت دستگه پهل خود است و به خود بر قراری حواس ز حدت علی شاهی تقاعد و زویدن شرط ایفائی صریق احلاس بیست. اصل هم هیچ نرخته. آنچه ضروریات را در کار باشد به بیست دانا جلالت امر خود بدید. سر حاتم کرده خواهد داد. زود مستمه ملاحت گردد.

[Praise be to God and thanks are due to Him because the physical strength of that formidable and brave person is still as good as ever. But to evade Imperial Service, in spite of having senses in a perfect working order, is against the faithful discharge of a mere obligation. Still the matter

1. *Shah-i-Mahmud-i-Muniri*, pp. 2-3. The Prince went to the Deccan in 1073 A.H. and was the ruler till 1134 A.H.

2. *Shah-i-Mahmud-i-Muniri*, *Madh-i-Khawar*, p. 100.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

4. *Rasid-i-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 93.

5. *Shah-i-Mahmud-i-Muniri*, *Madh-i-Khawar*, p. 101.

is not past remedy. Whatever is needed would be supplied on order from the provisions in the capital. He should immediately get ready to resume service.]

Khushgū says that he saw this imperial communication, in original with his own eyes, in the inkstand of Bedil. As A'zam Shāh had seen Bedil kill a tiger, he is in particular mindful of Bedil's bravery, and promises to show him favours. He also recognises Bedil's high-mindedness. It is clear that an elevated Mansab was waiting for Bedil, but again he declined to accept it and wrote in reply<sup>2</sup>:

صاقتم بی جوانی که وسیله آبروی بزرگیت بضعف پیری انجایید و استقامت  
تروی که دایل سعادت خدمت گزار است سرنجیب ازها در افتادگی کشید -

[The youthful energies, which enable a man to discharge his duties with credit, have changed into disability of old age, and the efficacy of powers, which gives strength for joining service, is no more.]

I think, to satisfy the vanity of the Prince, Bedil sent with his letter a poetic ghazal eulogising him. Following is the opening verse of the ghazal<sup>3</sup>:

اگر خورشید گردونم و گر خاک مرا هم گدائی حضرت شاهم گدائی حضرت شاهم

[If I am a sun in the heaven or I am like dust by the roadside,

I am a beggar at the Prince's door, a beggar at the Prince's door.]

As far as I know, this closed the chapter of Bedil's relations with A'zam Shāh.

After this we see our poet again in Akbarābād<sup>4</sup>—the city on the Jumna founded by Akbar the Great. It owes its fame to the Taj which was completed<sup>5</sup> in 1053 A.H., a year before the birth of Bedil.

Though no reference is found in his works, yet one can say with certainty that he must have seen this "dream in the marble" when he was in Akbarābād, and the purity and chastity of the Taj must have exercised influence in the development of his aesthetic taste. He calls this city by the name of گل زمین (The Valley of Roses) and this is an

<sup>1</sup> Page 46, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Khushgū, in *Ala'arif*, May 1942, p. 361; *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Qitt'at*, p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> *Imperial Gazetteer of India, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, pp. 393,

<sup>5</sup> Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubāb*, I, p. 599.

<sup>6</sup> *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Chahār Unqur*, p. 133.

of vision of the fact that he was deeply impressed by its supreme beauty.

One very bright night in 1071 A.H. (1660 A.D.) in Akba al-Adl, Bedil had a grand dream<sup>1</sup>. At first he found himself in the Realm of Unity (حَقُّ الْوَحْدَانِ), and then he descended to the Empyrean Heaven where he saw the angels. After this he observed the Intelligence<sup>2</sup> and the Heavens of the Saturn, the Jupiter, the Mars, the Sun, the Venus, the Mercury, and the Moon. When he had traversed these seven heavens, he saw the truths of the spheres of earth, water, air, and fire and at the end the realities of the four stages of existence, i.e. the mineral, the vegetable, the anima, and the human, visibly came before his eyes. He saw the similitudes of these things.

In the course of this vision, Bedil saw a person, sitting towards the pillow and having Bedil's head on his knees. When Bedil looked closely, he recognised the Holy Prophet (peace be on him). Bedil sought sleep, but his head was still in the loving lap of the Prophet. He was overjoyed. After a while he observed another glorious world on that curvator of the similitudes. In a splendid palace he saw 'Alī, the sovereign of saints, reclining against a pillow on the carpet of Majesty. Bedil respectfully bowed and began to tremble with fear. But His Exalted Holiness graciously asked Bedil to come nearer, and then he attained the state of Oneness, and was honoured with favours compared to which everything in the universe passes into insignificance. Bedil was encouraged and he therefore related how he had seen the Prophet in the dream. The Prince of the saints, i.e. 'Alī, interpreted the dream and told Bedil that the Reality of M.ammad (صَلَاتُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ) was always guarding him, whether he observed the necessary ritual or not. On hearing this interpretation, Bedil felt infinite pleasure and he woke up.

We see it was, in fact, a splendid dream. Dreams of this kind are commonly seen by the mystics, and a perusal of the books<sup>3</sup> on mysticism will show that there was nothing extraordinary in this dream. This only shows that Bedil belonged to the community of saints, and, as a unique saint (فرد), his spiritual relations with 'Alī,<sup>4</sup> the son-in-law of the Prophet, were very intimate. Moreover, reference to

1. *Kulliyat-e-Bedil*, Chahār Usul, pp. 141-35.

2. It refers to a theory of creation, according to which God created the First Intelligence (حَقُّ الْوَحْدَانِ) and from it the Other Intelligences, all the Heavens, and everything else came into being.

3. Attār, *Faḥṣṣat-e-Qin*, *Taḥṣīl-e-Haḥṣat*, pp. 60, 100, 112, etc.; Nicholson, *The Idea of Personality in Sufism*, pp. 63-65; *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, pp. 122-23.

In the last book, 'Abd al-Karīm Jāzī's remarks indicate that the saints are capable of seeing the Heavens.

4. Page 45, sup. 2.

the Intelligence and Heavens in the dream, indicates Bedil's knowledge of Muslim philosophy.

In Akbarābād, Kāmgār Khān<sup>1</sup> son of Ja'far Khān<sup>2</sup> Jumdatul Mulk, was always eager to render service to the Faqirs and Darwishes and he treated Bedil also with the same considerateness because he thought Bedil too belonged to the same order. Although he does not say it explicitly, yet there are implicit references to the effect that Bedil lived in Akbarābād for a considerable period, and it looked as if he had settled there. He says he was leading there a contented and comfortable life. It was this mode of life which induced Khushgū to write<sup>3</sup> in his *Safina* that Bedil belonged to Akbarābād.

In one meeting,<sup>4</sup> in Akbarābād, a few poets had gathered, and they began to talk about the poets of the past. They themselves were not well versed in poetry, still they spoke slightly about the master-poets like Khāqānī and Amīr Khosrau. Bedil could not bear disparaging remarks about the Great Poets, although he himself had no claim for being a poet.

It so happened that one day a<sup>5</sup> of them went for a walk in the Zohā Garden<sup>5</sup> in the company of Amīr Kāmgār Khān. The walls, the pleasure houses, and the other scenery in the garden so fascinated the Amīr that he asked all the poets if someone would describe the beautiful scenes in verse or prose. Those bragging poets remained deaf and dumb, but Bedil immediately described the garden in prose, in figurative language, and aptly named it *سرمه اعتبار* (the collyrium of honour). This essay was later on included in the prose section of *Chakar 'Unsur*.

Fortunately, Bedil gives dates of the composition of many of his productions, and from this we can understand how his literary genius

1. *Kuliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Chakar 'Unsur*, p. 94, Khushgū, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942.

2. Sher Khān Iddatī *Mir'at-ul-Khayāl*, p. 396; Saqī, *Ma'arif-e-'Ālami*, n. 103. During these days Aurangzeb was in Akbarābād where Ja'far Khān Jumdatul Mulk died after a protracted illness. Kāmgār Khān, his brother Nandār Khān, and the other members of the bereaved family felt very much elated when the Emperor personally went to their home for condolence. Aurangzeb was there from 1080 A.H. to 1082 A.H. See *Ma'arif-e-'Ālami*, pp. 91, 112. This is sufficient to show the standing of the family of Mīrā Kāmgār.

In the *Fuq'at* of Bedil (Lucknow Edition, at page 70, there is a letter in which Bedil regretfully says that he could not receive Mīrā Kāmgār as there was no maddie for his horse. At page 31 of the *Qutub* (*Kuliyāt-e-Bedil*), Bedil has mentioned a victory of the Amīr. The chronogram is *نور محمد غیب* = 1082 A.H.

3. Khushgū, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 333.

4. *Kuliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Chakar 'Unsur*, pp. 94-95.

5. Latif, Sayyid Muhammad, *Agra*, p. 190. It is thought that this was a garden of Babur's daughter.

gradually unfolded itself. He wrote his *Qaṣīda Sawād-e-A'zam*<sup>1</sup> in 1087 A.H. (1671 A.D.) This name itself, like that of *Mahil-e-A'zam*, is the chronogram. The *Qaṣīda* is addressed to Man and is didactic in content. Most of the verses of the *Qaṣīda* have the figure تشبیه (aptness of illustration) in which a truth is stated in the first hemistich and in the second a concrete example is given. This predominant use of the figure proves that at this period of his life Bedil was paying more attention to it.

*Khuṣṣāṣū* has recorded an event which shows that the poets in Akbarābād had grown jealous of Bedil. He shaved his beard as well as his eyebrows. One day a poet named 'Abdur Rahīm threw the following<sup>2</sup> couplet into the palanquin in which Bedil was being carried :

چه خطا در خط استاد ارل دید آیا که به اصلاح خط و ریش به ناز آید است  
[What defect did you observe in the downs made by the  
Eternal Master

That you have proudly begun to correct the downs and the  
beard ?]

Bedil replied immediately :

مختصر کن به تعادل هوس جنگ و جدل مدبر رشته تحقیق دراز افتاد است  
[Cut short by negligence your desire to continue this strife  
The extent of the thread of research is wide.]

Bedil was otherwise perfectly satisfied with his life in Akbarābād but there was one thing which distressed him much. He very much longed<sup>3</sup> to be in the society of *Shāh-e-Qāsim Hawalāhī* whom he had left in Orissa. Letters and messages were being regularly exchanged but he was not satisfied with them. He ardently desired to see the saint himself.

One night in 1083 A.H. (1672-73 A.D.), Bedil was very much perturbed, and was awake till late in the night. At last, when he fell asleep he dreamt that he was in the company of *Shāh-e-Qāsim*. Bedil had a cup of water in his hands. Instead of taking it to his own lips, he offered it to *Shāh Shāhib*. The saint had not yet taken even a drop when the dream melted away.

Next night Bedil saw the saint again in dream. The saint had a cup in his hand and a flask of wine under his arms, which he handed over to Bedil. Now Bedil thought *Shāh Shāhib* was not at all intemperate, it must be some secret. He therefore filled the cup and offered it to the saint who said :

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Qitt'āt*, pp. 34-35.  
2. *Khuṣṣāṣū*, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 365.  
3. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Chānār 'Unqur*, pp. 71-72.

د دور پیمانہ خود دیشب پانجام رسانیدیم۔ این قدر قسمت تر بود کہ به  
ترعد گردانیدیم بعد ازین سرخوش قدح پیمائی شوق می باش و دماغ اندیشه  
بخمر هائی گذورت بخراس۔

[We finished last night the round of our cup. It was your share which has been made over to you. After this be merry from the effects of drinking to your desire, and never put yourself to trouble by vexing thoughts.]

As the saint had asked him, Bedil drank a few cups, and as a consequence he began to reel like an intoxicated person. For a long time after this dream he felt as if he was drunk.

Bedil concluded from these dreams that the saint had left this world for ever. On the third night he saw a crowd of angels in a dream. They asked him to tell some chronogram about the death of *Shāh-e-Qāsim* and he said *impromptu* :

زبی تعینتی ذات رفت نام صفت

The celestial beings grew ecstatic on hearing this chronogram. After six months a few friends of Bedil came from Orissa and they confirmed the news.

This is the last event which we know about the life of Bedil in Akbarābād. We get two dates, i.e. 1081 A.H. and 1083 A.H., from the events that took place in this imperial city. Nowhere has it been mentioned by any person that Bedil was at any other place during these dates. Consequently I am of the opinion that he was in Akbarābād from 1082 A.H. to 1083 A.H. (1671-73 A.D.).

From Akbarābād Bedil went to Dehli. But there he was living very dispiritedly, when suddenly he made up his mind to enjoy a visit to the Punjab. His spirits were revived and he composed the following<sup>1</sup> chronogram in a cheerful mood :

|                         |                         |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| تازگی پائی مزده شاد است | شوق را از عریضت لاهور   |
| چند گاهم نوید آزادیست   | یعنی از دامگاه انسردن   |
| بی تکلف شو-خدا هادیست   | سال تاریخ این عزیمت شوق |

[I am starting for Lahore and I feel

As fresh as on hearing a good news.

It means from the net of melancholy

I get glad tidings of being liberated for some time.

The chronogram for this pleasure trip

Comes quite unaffectedly. Listen : 'God is the guide.']

In *Chahār 'Unsur*, too, he speaks of the pleasure<sup>2</sup> which he felt on the eve of his departure for the Punjab.

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Q 11'āt, p. 51

2. *Ibid.*, *Chahār 'Unsur*, pp. 102-03.

He was alone. Moreover, he was travelling light. He had only a very blunt knife with him. On many occasions he had thought of taking the knife to some blacksmith, but now when he reached Saran-Nahodai, an inn in Nahodai,<sup>1</sup> Julandpur District, he saw a few smiths and went thither. He asked the blacksmiths to sharpen his knife. All of them displayed willingness, but their elder readily came forward and respectfully took the knife from Bedil. In an instant, the knife was sharpened brilliantly. Bedil thought of paying for the labour, but the elderly blacksmith accepted no payment as, he said, he was there to serve the Faqirs—the holy people moving about like mendicants. The blacksmith smiled graciously and talked so compassionately that Bedil was very much impressed by his good manners. The bright lustre of his eyes was particularly wonderful.

Nothing is known about Bedil's stay in Lahore at that time, but we know he went to Hasanabdī. It is a town<sup>2</sup> in Attock District twenty-five miles east of Campbellpur and has been held equally sacred by the Bedilists, the Muslims and the Sikhs. It is an attractive place, famous for its springs, and mulberry and papal trees of large size. The Mughal Emperors used to halt here, when they were on their way to Kabul or Kashmir. Moreover, as the place is almost on the border of the Frontier Province, the Mughal Emperors, having encamped in the town, could easily supervise the action in the Frontier. When in 1635 A.H. (1674-75 A.D.) Bedil had gone towards that side, Aurangzeb also had reached Hasanabdī to subdue the turbulent *Khans*—an inspiring poet and a valiant swordsman.

In the course of his journey to Hasanabdī Bedil had with him a learned Brahman as a fellow-traveller, who was deeply influenced by Bedil's magnanimity. One day the Brahman showed his surprise by saying that the Prophet of Islam had foretold that the Day of Judgment would come in the twinkling of an eye, but it had not come since his time although the people go on twinkling the eyes a thousand times every day. According to Hindu philosophy, the Brahman continued, the annihilation of the Universe would take place after the Greatest Cycle of Time which closed after millions of

1. *Punjab Daily & Gazetteer* XIV A Julandpur District, pp. 291-92.

2. Ibid., XXIX A, Attock District, pp. 3, 9-11.

3. *Muzcare, A Hand Book for Travellers in India*, p. 241.

4. Jhang's, *Plains* (Trana Rogers, Vol. I, pp. 99-100, II, pp. 123-231).

5. Saqi, *Madrās-e-Awāz*, p. 13.

6. *Kuliyāt-e-Bedil, Chahār 'Unsur*, pp. 17-19.

7. *The Holy Qurān*, XIV, 17.

وَمَا أَمْرُ السَّاعَةِ إِلَّا كَمِجِ بَصِيرَاتٍ هِيَ أَقْرَبُ

(And the matter of the Hour (of Doom) is but as a twinkling of the eye or it is nearer still.)



years. The Brahman meant to say that Hindu conception of Time was nearer the reality. Bedil replied that the Hindus believed ages piled on ages in the life of Brahma (The Creator of the Universe, and at whose end the Universe ended) were only a negligibly brief moment in the life of Viṣṇu. This Viṣṇu, Bedil went on, corresponded to Necessary Existence (دات واجب الوجود) in Muslim philosophy, and it was, therefore, clear that, as compared to the Necessary Existence, which transcended time, the contingent (ممکن الوجود), with all its huge piles of ages, was absolutely an insignificant entity. Bedil told the Brahman that such like deep truths were simply appealing to the imagination of puny man, and, therefore, metaphors like the twinkling of an eye were used:

چه دانی رمز دریا چون نداری گوش گردابی  
 کد کار خار و خس بنود زبان موج فهمیدن

[How can you understand the secrets of a sea when you do not have the ears of a whirlpool,  
 Because it is not the business of thorns and straw to understand a wave's tongue]

When the Brahman was reminded of Viṣṇu, and informed of the nature of واجب and ممکن, he was worsted in argument, and he, therefore, embraced Islam.

Bedil removed the doubts of the Brahman very easily. This shows that Bedil had made comparative study of the Hindu and Muslim systems of philosophy. Khushgū<sup>2</sup> says that Bedil was interested in Theology, Mathematics, and Natural Sciences and he had also committed to memory the whole story of Mahābhārtha—a book of unequalled fame amongst the Hindus. Bedil had developed this taste for Hindu philosophy and traditions since the days when his teacher Shāh-e-Mulūk composed couplets having Vedānta terminology. We know that Āqil Khān Rāzi, who was a patron of Bedil, had written in verse the *Qissa-e-Padīnawāt* and *Maidhamalat*. This shows that the learned Muslims of those days were not ashamed of taking interest in Hindu learning.

When did Bedil return from the Punjab? Or, where did he stay after his return?—are questions which I have not been able to answer definitely. Bedil, however, has stated in *Chahār 'Unsur*

1 Premchand Bhāratī, *Sri Krishna*, pp. 45-48, 67, 19+; Barnett, L. D., *Brahma Knowledge*, pp. 49-50.

According to the Hindu Theory of Creation, Brahma is born out of the navel of Viṣṇu. Brahma then creates the universe which ends after many cycles each of which consists of 4,320,000 ordinary years. After Maha-Pralaya, i.e. Universal Dissolution, there is again creation. This periodical course of alternate creation, maintenance, and dissolution of worlds continues without end.

2. Khushgū, in *Me'ārif*, May 19+2, p. 370.

that once he stayed in Muthura continuously for three years. If his previous and future history is kept in view, one arrives at the conclusion that at no period other than this could Bedil stay in Muthura continuously for such a long time. I am, therefore, inclined to the view that Bedil was there from 1087 A.H. to 1089 A.H. (1676-78 A.D.).

Bedil says that he lived there on account of the fondness he had for the city. He was greatly impressed by the veneration in which the Hindus hold Krishna—the Lord of Love. Krishna had passed his life in the western part of Muthura District which is called Braj Mandal,<sup>1</sup> or the country of Krishna, and where almost every grove, mound and tank is associated with some episode in Krishna's life. Bedil saw there bands of pilgrims of all sorts, visiting the shrines most reverently, and he was surprised to see the depth of their feelings. Even after the lapse of centuries, he could hear, in those surroundings, the flute played by Krishna and could see the enraptured maidens (*Gopīs*). He says<sup>2</sup>.

در زمینی که محبت ثری کاشته است  
گرد و خرمین چندان طیش انباشته است

[In a field, where love has sown its effect

There even the dust has collected a drop of palpitation]

From the vivid account given by Bedil we learn that, in spite of the efforts made by different Muslim rulers to eliminate idolatry, Muthura had even then the exclusive stamp of Hindu religion and its traditions.

One day<sup>3</sup> in Muthura, the Governor of the fort complained to Bedil that life in the fort had become miserable, as the evil spirits flung stones, and the people being afraid were daily leaving the place. Bedil wrote the following couplet in Persian to serve as an amulet:

با عفتاریت جهانی دیگر جای کم نیست مکانی دیگر

[There is another world for the genus;

Accommodation is not limited. There is another house.]

In this way the spirits left the place.

In 1089 A.H. (1673 A.D.), when Bedil was perhaps in Muthura, his teacher, 'Abdul 'Aziz, 'Izzat breathed his last at the age of forty-eight. Bedil mourned<sup>4</sup> his loss in two stanzas, and composed two chrono-

1. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, p. 374

2. *Kutubāt-e-Bedil Chahār 'Unsur* pp. 59-60.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, *Qit'āt*, pp. 47, 50-51.

grams, viz. چیل و شب ساه مرد and نور ز سراج عالم, to record the date of the demise of his beloved teacher. It is a characteristic feature of the elegies written by Bedil that there are the traits of the dying person are invariably recounted. Here, in these two stanzas, we learn about the religiosity, liberality and nobility of mind, erudition and the literary attainments of Shaykh 'Abdul 'Aziz 'Izzat. In 1092 A.H. (1681 A.D.), when near the mausoleum of the Shaykh, a Maktab called رویه غریبه was opened, Bedil preserved its memory, by the chronogram مقام فضلاء.

We see Bedil in Delhi again. This time when he was in Delhi, he posed before a famous painter, named Arūp Candā for a portrait.<sup>2</sup> The painter was a favourite<sup>3</sup> of Dārā Shikoh, and one of his chief works depicts Shāh Jahan seated among his Ancestors. Arūp Candā's portraits have a sureness of touch, a keenness of expression, and a psychological intensity. Bedil praises him for his realism and regards him equal to the great Buzāṣī and to Mānī.<sup>4</sup> The critical remarks of Bedil, about the paintings of Arūp Candā, are a proof of the fact that the poet was a very well-informed connoisseur. At first Bedil was disinclined to have his portrait drawn, but, being overcome by the entreaties of Arūp Candā, who was an old friend, he agreed at last, and when, with a few touches of the brush, the portrait was drawn, it was so lifelike that Bedil could not distinguish it from his own self. The portrait remained with him for ten years till he destroyed it in 1100 A.H. (1688-89 A.D.). It means that it was painted in 1090 A.H. (1679-80 A.D.) when Bedil was thirty-six years old.

Bedil had all the time been looking for a proper recognition of his talents, but his hopes were still unrealised. He was not after the fulfilment of worldly ends, as it was customary with other poets of his times, but on the other hand, he was in search of persons who had intellectual as well as spiritual affinity with him. We have seen that his respect for 'Āqī Khān Rāzī had its origin in this similarity of mind and heart. But it appears, too exalted as 'Āqī Rāzī was, Bedil could not develop the desired intimacy with him.

By this time Bedil had come to know that Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, the son-in-law of 'Āqī Khān Rāzī, was the proper man to

1. *Kulliyat Bedil*, *Qas'idat-e-Bedil*, p. 3.

2. *Ibid.*, *Qas'idat-e-Bedil*, pp. 110-11.

3. Grosset, R., *The Civilisation of the East India* (Trans. Phillips), p. 338.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 30. Buzāṣī was the most illustrious master of the school of Herāt during the times of the Timurid Sulṭān Husayn Bayqara.

5. Mānī was not a painter but the founder of a religion. See Browne, E.G., *A Literary History of Persia*, I, 134-135.

6. *Iqbal*, Dr. Muhammad, *Ikbal ka 'Adab-e-Sa'adati* (Urdu translation of *L'Iran*), *in* *Sarsar*, pp. 233-234.

be approached in this connection. The Nawāb was a poet<sup>1</sup> and he had also written a commentary of the *Masnavi* of Rūmī. He was not only versed in the canonical law but also he was a mystic. His devotion to truth was well known. Moreover, his regard for poets and learned men had earned a name for him. Shaukh Nāṣir 'Alī Sirhindī, the well known Persian poet, and Sher Khān Lodhī, the famous writer of the *Tazkirah Mir'at al Khayāl*, were recipients of his favours. It is probable that when he was the Governor of Sirhind, Nāṣir 'Alī Sirhindī attracted his notice, and from that time close familiarity began between them. Sher Khān Lodhī gives the letters which passed between the peer and the poet.

Bedil, therefore, naturally decided to write<sup>2</sup> to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān. He had not yet seen the Nawāb but he was confident the Nawāb would not disappoint him. He sent his *Masnavi Tilism-e-Hairat*, with a letter, in which he severely criticised the people who either attended merely to the felicity of expression or displayed solicitude only for the ideas. Bedil, however, stood for a happy fusion of both, the thought and the expression, and he believed that a clear-minded person like Nawāb Shukrullah Khān would study the *Masnavi* from this point of view and would appreciate it. *Tilism-e-Hairat*, too, had not had a good reception, and, therefore, when he was sending it to a real patron of art and learning, he was very much delighted. He concluded by saying.

شاد باش ای دل که آخر عقده ات وای می شود

قطره با می رسد جائیکه دریا می شود

[O heart, be pleased, your knot is being opened after long last.

Our drop would reach a place where it would turn into an ocean.]

Bedil's expectations were fulfilled, and we find him staying with Nawāb Shukrullah Khān in Delhi as a guest. The Nawāb was transferred<sup>3</sup> from Sirhind in 1092 A.H. (1581 A.D.) and was appointed the Faujdār of Shāh Jahānābād where he remained<sup>4</sup> till 1204 A.H. (1682-83 A.D.) A separate room was reserved for Bedil and meals were regularly served. In addition to this there were uninterrupted meetings with Shukrullah Khān, which Bedil regarded as the fruit of his life. Nawāb Shukrullah Khān had given headings to the different sections

1. Azīd Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Azād*, p. 149; Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'at al Khayāl*, pp. 292-94; Khushkū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 41, Husaini, Husain Dost, *Tazkirah*, p. 75.

2. *Ruqq'at-e-Bedil* Lucknow Edition, p. 3.

3. Sāqī, *Ma'asir-e 'Ālamgiri*, pp. 209, 214.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

of *Tilism-e-Hayat*, and also he had prepared a gist of its contents. In a letter<sup>1</sup> to 'Āqī Khān Rāzi, Bedil praised Nawāb Shukrullāh Khān for his hospitality and good manners.

It appears that when Nawāb Shukrullāh Khān was transferred in 1034 A.H. (1522-23 A.D.) to Sanduwbād, Bedil moved to Muthurā. The period since the date of the composition of *Tilism-e-Hayat* is marked comparatively by sterility, but this time when Bedil was in Muthurā, he embarked upon the composition of his famous work *Chahār 'Unqar* in prose.

Now, after the war of succession (1038-39 A.H. 1627-28 A.D.), the life of Bedil was again directly influenced by the political events of his times. Aurangzeb quitted<sup>2</sup> his capital in 1039 A.H. (1629 A.D.) and went to Ajmer to quell the Rājpūt risings, and from there he had proceeded<sup>3</sup> to the Deccan, via Barhānpur in 1033 A.H. (1531 A.D.). This was his fateful departure from the capital. Exaggerated news of the persistent defiance of Mughal authority by the Mirbattas and of their vigorous raids were daily reaching Northern India, and, taking advantage of the disturbed conditions, the truculent Jāts had begun to commit depredations<sup>4</sup> near Islāmābād (Muthurā) and Akbarābād. As Bedil was living at that time in the former city, he naturally suffered. He gives a sensational account of the prevalent conditions :

"The Emperor 'Ālamgīr<sup>5</sup> had left for the Deccan and Hindustān was in a state of helplessness. The Governors were lazy and negligent of their duties. Consequently, the population surrounding Delhi and Akbarābād grew rebellious and, with designs for independence and self-aggrandisement, created havoc. The population of most of the parganas, neighbouring Muthurā, had embarked on a career of lawlessness, loot and murder. The noblemen were imprisoned and humiliated and none heeded their imprecations. Every day a new Governor was appointed from the Deccan, but he made inordinate delay in reaching Hindustān and taking over. Rebels swarmed about and could by no means be checked. The lawless mob made no distinction between the virtuous and the wicked. It was impossible to stay at home; and the bazars, the streets and the lanes too were unsafe. Undertaking journeys meant courting danger, and the caravans of traders had stopped where they were. The military itself was exposed to danger. In Muthurā the rich people guarded

1. *Ruqq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 63.

2. Sāqī, *Mas̄sir-e-Ālamgīr*, p. 233.

3. Ibid., p. 180.

4. Ibid., p. 217.

5. Ibid., p. 31.; Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhbatul Lubāb*, II pp. 394-95.

6. *Enlighten-e-Bedil*, *Chahār 'Unqar*, p. 128.

the pathways to their palaces by guns and arrows, but the poor were absolutely helpless.<sup>1</sup>

This graphic expression we get from Bedil's pen. At last when, owing to the constant sufferings of full two years, endurance and patience had worn away, and it had become extremely painful to pass each day and each night, Bedil decided in 1035 A.H. ( 603 A.D ) to reach Delhi somehow or other. People tried to dissuade him, pointing out the dangers in the way, but he was firm in his resolve.

A few bullock carts were hired and the journey was started. The first stop was Azimābād in the vicinity of Mathura. About fifty carts were already waiting there for an escort. Next day when Bedil's carts resumed their journey, these fifty carts also moved. They were, however, soon persuaded by the inhabitants of the village to stop, but Bedil went on with two servants. When Bedil's party had gone ahead only for a few yards, a dervish came with a parrot, and he predicted that victory accompanied them, hence there was no need to be afraid. On hearing this the people of the other carts too were encouraged, and they joined Bedil's party.

In spite of the intense heat, none ventured to stop on the way, nor did anyone go to the wells to quench thirst. When they had travelled some two or three kos in this way, they came to a marshy ground, which it was difficult to cross. There a cart of Bedil was broken and the luggage was loaded on the wounded bullock, but it gave way under the load. Such accidents were commonly an invitation for the ruffians to indulge in plunder and, therefore, getting afraid, the accompanying carts made good their escape hastily, leaving Bedil and his party in the lurch.

Bedil asked his men to unload the load and the bullock and to proceed on. After some time the wounded bullock also arrived with its load. The people of the surrounding villages used to gather by the roadside, perhaps with evil intentions. They were surprised to see the tiny caravan travelling without an escort. One night was passed by the bank of the Jumna, and all the party kept vigil. Some drivers were in league with the robbers, and they took the party to a dangerous village. But suddenly a man on horseback appeared, and angrily asked the drivers why they behaved faithlessly even with godly persons. The rider guided the party to the caravan and then disappeared.

In this way Bedil arrived safely in Siāh Jahānābād. From the luggage and the servants that accompanied him, it appears that Bedil had settled permanently in Mathura, and that he shifted to the Imperial Capital only on account of the disturbances.

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Chahār 'Unqur*, pp. 128-32.

## CHAPTER III

### Final Stay in Dehli

[27th Jamāda II, 1096 A.H., to 4th Šafar, 1133 A.H.

31st May, 1685 A.D., to 5th December, 1720 A.D.]

BEDIL arrived in Shāh Jahānābād on the 27th of Jamāda II, 1096 A.H. (May 31st, 1685). On his arrival in the metropolis, the first thing he did was to see 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, who was the Governor<sup>1</sup> there since 1091 A.H. (1680-81 A.D.). Appointment for weekly visits was made with the Khān. Procuring a well-located house was Bedil's next concern. He, therefore, wrote to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān for the same. Bedil wrote that he had left Islāmābād (Mathura) on account of the disturbances and had arrived in the capital with his women (ہاں لاشکستہ چلے). He added that the daily food had been fixed for all by God, he wanted a comfortable house by the riverside or in the outskirts of the city—a house which should remain permanently in his possession, so that, for the rest of his life, he may be freed from the trouble of changing it.<sup>2</sup>

Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and his son Shākīr Khān bought the Havelī (bungalow) of one Luṭf 'Alī for Rs. 5,000 and presented it to Bedil. It was situated outside the Dehlī Gate, in the quarter of Khikriān, by the Guzar Ghat. It is apparent that both the conditions laid down by Bedil had been fulfilled. The Nawābs fixed two rupees as the daily allowance of Bedil, which was paid till the last day<sup>3</sup> of his death. Khushgu remarks<sup>4</sup> that in this house Bedil lived for the remaining thirty-six years of his life. As he died on 4th Šafar, 1133 A.H. (December 5, 1720), we conclude that this house was arranged for him in 1096 A.H. (1684 A.D.), i.e. the very year of Bedil's final arrival in Dehlī.

Bedil has mentioned in the letter quoted above that he reached Shāh Jahānābād with his women. This is the first occasion since 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.) when he settled in Dehlī after his marriage in

1. Šer Khān, *Mirātul Khayāl* p. 290 ; Sāqī, *Ma'āzīr-e-Ālamgiri*, p. 195.

2. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, pp. 81-82.

3. Khushgu, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 362.

4. *Ibid.*

1079 A.H. (1663-64 A.D.) that something has been mentioned about his family. We do not know how he arranged for the household expenditure and where his family lived. From the letter in question, and also from the number of casts which brought Bedil's effects from Mathura, we form the conclusion that in Mathura, at least during his last stay there, Bedil's family was with him. Moreover, Khushgū says that the poet had four wives. We have seen that Bedil is in the habit of making hints here and there about the different events of his life, but it is strange that he has made no reference about such an important matter as the polygamous phase of his life. Although the words *یا شکسته چند* lend weight to this remark of Khushgū, yet they are very ambiguous. Another statement also accompanies this remark. Khushgū says that, because of the nature of his life, Bedil used staked red-orpiment (*کشته زرینه*). The author of *'Iqd-e-Surayyā* states<sup>2</sup> that when Bedil had permanently settled in Shāh Jahānābād, God provided subsistence for all the old and young (*همه خورد و کار*). This shows that in Delhi Bedil had indeed a big family.

These were disturbed times. Aurangzeb was in the Deccan fighting the Marhattas and Muslim kings of the peninsula. Only the news of reverses to the Emperor's armies reached Northern India, and, as it has been mentioned previously, these news spread like wild fire causing panic in the country. The Jāns had risen in revolt and there was trouble in the whole of Mewāt, which is an ill-defined tract lying to the south of Delhi. One Bājī Rām, the proud Naruka Chief,<sup>3</sup> with his seven brave sons, was the cause of mischief in the holy territory of Mewāt. Nawāb Shikrullah Khān was appointed to crush the Naruka who, being afraid to face the Nawāb, sought refuge in flight. On this occasion Bedil's chronogram was *دن فرو که شکست* which yields 1097 A.H. (1685 A.D.) numerically. In 1098 A.H. (1686-87 A.D.) he accused Bājī Rām was rooted completely, and when the confused remnants of Bājī's army—the Māos, the Jāns, and the Rājpūts—bed away in all directions, Bedil sent a congratulatory letter<sup>4</sup> to Nawāb Shikrullah Khān with a ghazal, the last verse of which is given below:

یک جهان خفاش را بران ز هگش بس است  
آهست آهست آهست آهست آهست

[A single flash from his intention is enough to drive away a world of bats.

He is indeed the sun, the sun, the sun, the sun.]

1. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 362.

2. Mushāfi, Ghulām Hamidāni, *'Iqd-e-Surayyā*, p. 16.

3. *Imperial Gazetteers, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, p. 213.

4. *Kāfiyyāt-e-Bedil*, Qifā'at, p. 47.

5. *Rasā'id-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 37.



- The chronograms which Bedil found out were عزوه<sup>1</sup> عجیب (a strange war) and فتحی شگرف (a marvellous victory). In 1099 A.H. (1687-88 A.D.), Nawāb Shahrullah Khān paid<sup>2</sup> a visit to Shāh Jahān-ābād, and, I think, when he returned to Mewāt, he took Bedil also with him.

When Bedil went to Mewāt, he lived in Bairāt<sup>3</sup> – a town 105 miles south-west of Delhi, 41 miles north of Jaipur and 27 miles north-west of Meerut City. It is situated in the midst of a circular valley surrounded by low, barren red hills. Trees are in abundance in the il'āqa. Bedil passed the rainy season there. Being enchanted by the charming scenery of the countryside and the raining clouds, he experienced a spontaneous creative urge. In a short picturesque poem he describes<sup>4</sup> the locality :

صبح کشور میوات یاسمن بهار است این  
 بوی ناز می آید جلوه گاه یار است این  
 نشه لوجها دارد عیش فوجها دارد  
 عشق موجها دارد بحزمی کنار است این  
 آبر شوق می بارد سیره حسن می بارد  
 منگ هم دلی دارد طرفه گیسار است این  
 گر گل از چمن روید با نفس سخن گوید  
 دل بدیده می گوید رنگ آن نگار است این  
 خرمی چمن پیر است جوش گل قلع پیماست  
 رنگ و بو همان برجاست به خزان بهار است این  
 نقش جوهر کامل گیسست تاکه یاطلی  
 این چراغ و این محفل فضل کردگار است این  
 کام دل گل و دامن آرزو طالب خرم  
 چشم بیدلان روشن مزد انتظار است این

[It is morning in Mewāt and jassamines have blossomed everywhere.

It smells of coquetry. It must be the abode of the beloved.

Hilarity is on the increase, enjoyment is limitless, and

Love comes like rising waves. It is indeed a boundless sea.

The clouds pour down desire and verdure is sowing beauty,

Even the stone has a heart. It is a strange hilly country.

If a flower blossoms in the garden, it chats with the soul,

The heart says to the eye, 'It is the hue of that beauty.'

Pleasantness adorns the garden, and the excited flowers drink wine from the cup.

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Qit'āt*, p. 50.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

3. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, United Provinces*, p. 320, Cunningham,  
*The Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 341-42.

4. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Qit'āt*, p. 55.

Co'our and smell pervade everywhere. This spring knows no autumn

Who is there to efface the impression of the perfect Essence ?  
This lamp and this assembly. It is a favour of the Almighty.  
The realised wishes of heart are like flowers in skirt and there  
is a harvest of fulfilled desires.

The eyes of those who have lost their hearts have brightened  
up. It is the reward for waiting long.

Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was also a poet with the poetical surname خاکسار. He left a Diwān<sup>2</sup> which however, has not been mentioned in any one of the catalogues. The Nawāb also tried to describe the beautiful scenes in a poem. In all humility, Bedil says that he followed<sup>3</sup> in the footsteps of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, and, in addition to the poem given above, he wrote his masterpiece the Masnavi *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat* in two days<sup>4</sup>. This shows that the creative urge<sup>5</sup> was so strong that he was not satisfied with the exquisite short poem. The Masnavi is a rare piece of natural poetry in the characteristic sweet and fluent style of Bedil. On his return from Bairāt, Bedil sent this Masnavi, like the Great Sa'di, to different persons as a present—to 'Aqil Khan Rāzi, to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, and to Mirzā Muḥammad Amin 'Iṣfān and Mirzā 'Ibādullah.

1. Sher Khan Lodhi, *Mir'at-ul Khayāl*, pp. 292-93

2. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'arif*, July 1942, p. 41.

3. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 64; *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Safdari Edition, *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 19. In *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, Bedil says:

همای من درین گلکش مقصود      نسیم فیض شکرانه خان بود  
وگر نه من کجا کو برنشانی      سرشکی بودم آدم بی رونی  
[My guide in this charming valley of desire was the breeze of Shukrullah Khān's favour.

Otherwise of what consequences am I? How could I flutter wings? I was but a tear and that too motionless.]

4. *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 19.

دو روی در پس زانو نشستم      خیال را بهاری نقش بستم  
[I sat meditating for two days and painted an idea into spring.]

5. *Ibid.*, p. 3. About the charm, Bedil says:

کنون در کوه پیراث آب و رنگ است      که هر سنگش بدل بردن لرنگ است  
[Now the Bairāt mountain air has so much elegance and splendour,

That every stone bewitches the heart like a French beauty.]

6. Sa'di has said:

درین آدمم زان همه بوستان      تمیز است رفیق سوی دوستان  
[Out of all those gardens, I thought it regrettable,  
To go empty handed towards the friends.]

Similarly, Bedil writes at page 34 of *His Poems*: (Lucknow Edition) that he brought *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat* as a present for the lovers of poetry

7. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, pp. 64, 49, 34, 45 respectively.

We have so far spoken of the trouble in Mewāt and have made scanty references to the Deccan—the real arena of cataclysmic uprisings. Sambhājī Marhatta, who had given refuge to Akbar, the rebellious son of Aurangzeb,<sup>1</sup> had proved a menace to the Mughul Empire, and Aurangzeb had, therefore, concentrated all his military strength in the Deccan. The armies of the Emperor captured Bījapur in 1097 A.H. (1685-86 A.D.) because Śikandar, the King of Bījapur, had made alliance with Sambhājī. Aurangzeb was very gracious towards Śikandar who was enrolled among the Mughul peers, and was granted an annual pension of one lakh of rupees. Golkonda<sup>2</sup> was then conquered in 1098 A.H. (1686-87 A.D.). The Marhatta leader Sambhājī was captured<sup>3</sup> in 1100 A.H. (1688-89 A.D.) with twenty-five of his followers and their wives and daughters. These happy news of imperial victories sent a thrill of joy<sup>4</sup> in the hearts and the people had a general feeling of security. Our poet also shared the jubulations of the multitude. He wrote chronograms<sup>5</sup> to commemorate these victories. For the fall of Bījapur, the chronograms were چمشید نصرت جلو گر (the Jamshid of victory has appeared) and مکتدر را ایمان داد آن شه عادل (the Just Emperor granted amnesty to Śikandar). About Golkonda he said اعظم مطلوب (the great fulfilment) and فتح بادشاه نامور (victory of the renowned monarch). When Sambhājī was captured, Bedī ejaculated: یازن و فرزند سنها شد اسیر (Sambhā has been made captive with women and children). The last chronogram became popular and has been given in *Ma'āsirul Umara*.<sup>7</sup>

The short poems, which bear the chronograms given in the preceding paragraph, pay a glowing tribute to the justice, saintliness, and world-conquering resolution of Aurangzeb. This shows that, although Bedī entertained misgivings about the behaviour of Aurangzeb during the war of succession, his views about the pious Emperor had now undergone a happy orientation. Aurangzeb too seems to have formed a very high opinion of our poet. In his *Ruq'āt*,

1. *Shāhnawāz Khān, Ma'āsirul Umara*, I, p. 8050.

2. *Khāfī Khān, Muntakh̄abul Lubāb*, II, pp. 315-16; *Sāqī, Ma'āsir-e-Ālamgiri*, pp. 279-80.

3. *Khāfī Khān, Muntakh̄abul Lubāb*, II, pp. 293, 328; *Sāqī, Ma'āsir-e-Ālamgiri*, p. 293; *Shāhnawāz Khān, Ma'āsirul Umara*, III, pp. 628-29.

4. *Sāqī, Ma'āsir-e-Ālamgiri*, p. 321. *Shāhnawāz Khān, Ma'āsirul Umara*, p. 330.

5. *Sāqī, Ma'āsir-e-Ālamgiri*, pp. 320-22.

*Kuliyāt-i Bedī Saifdarī Edition, Qutbī, p. 42.*

7. *Shāhnawāz Khān, Ma'āsirul Umara*, p. 350.

the Emperor has quoted three verses of Bedil. In a letter<sup>1</sup> to Prince Mu'azzam Shāh, Aurangzeb exhorts speedy extirpation of the ruffians who infest the royal road between Bahadurpur and Aurangābād and quotes Bedil<sup>2</sup> :

من نمی گویم زیان کن یا بفکر سود باش ای زفر صفت پیخیز در هر چه باشی زود باش  
[I do not ask you to lose or think of gain,

O thou, unaware of opportunity, be prompt in every undertaking.]

In another letter<sup>3</sup> the same prince has been asked to redress the wrongs done to the poor, because according to Bedil :

ترس از آه مظلومان که هنگام دعا کردن احابت ز در حق بهر استقبال می آید  
[Be afraid of the sighs of the oppressed ones for when they pray

Acceptance rushes from the door of the Almighty to receive it.]

This verse has again been quoted in a letter to Asad Khān, and there the full name<sup>4</sup> of the poet, i.e. 'Abdul Qādir Bedil, has been given. At another place<sup>5</sup> the following famous *Maqṭa'*<sup>6</sup> of Bedil has also been adduced :

حرص تمنع نیست بدل ورنه سیاب معاش آنچه ما درکار داریم اکثری درکار نیست  
[Bedil, greed is never contented, otherwise the goods, which we require, are most often not required.]

That Bedil has been cited by the great 'Ālamgīr is a conclusive proof of the fact that the poet's enlightened contemporaries had begun to recognise his merit.

From the chronograms, concerning the victories of Aurangzeb in the Deccan, one may conclude that Bedil wanted to win the Emperor's favour. The same feeling rises in the mind when one reads Bedil writing<sup>7</sup> to Nawāb Shaukullah Khān to mention the chronograms to the Emperor if some opportunity offers itself. It may also be mentioned in this connection that Nawāb Zafar Jang,<sup>8</sup> who took part in the siege of Bijapur, had also asked<sup>9</sup> Bedil for a chronogram, and Bedil wanted to comply with his request. If we

1. *Ruqq'at-e-'Ālamgīr*, p. 8; *Letters of Aurangzeb*, pp. 26-27. Khushgū in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 375. Khushgū is wrong when he says that the letter was written to Prince Mu'azzam during the siege of Hāyderābād.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Ghazliyyāt*, p. 225.

3. *Ruqq'at-e-'Ālamgīr*, p. 19.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 27. The occasion for quoting the verse given by Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 368, is wrong.

6. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Ghazliyyāt*, p. 79. *Maqṭa'* is the last verse of a *ghazal*.

7. *Ruqq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 44.

8. *Sāqī*, *Ma'ārif-e-'Ālamgīr*, pp. 255, 261, 311; Khān Jahān Bahādar Zafar Jang was a noble at the court of Aurangzeb.

9. *Ruqq'at-e-Bedil*, p. 44.

study the historic letter of Bedil, in which these things have been narrated to Nawāb Sulakallah Khān, we can easily understand why the chronograms were discovered and why Bedil wanted them to be presented to Aurangzeb. Bedil says:

سُودَةُ فَتَحِ پادشاه دین پُتِه که سبب جمعیت عالمی است دلیل فکر تاریخی گردیده.

[The happy news of the victory of the Emperor, Defender of the Faith, which has brought peace and security to the people, has led me to think of chronograms.]

The significance of the word *جمعیت عالمی* will be understood better if the graphic account of Bedil's last days in Mathura, and of his journey at that time to Dehli with his family, is kept in mind. Naturally, Bedil wanted to pay homage to the victorious Emperor who had again promised peace to the realm. Otherwise, Bedil's independence of spirit was unimpaired as ever, for in the same letter he says about Zafar Jang and Aurangzeb:

وگر نه چه نواب و کدام مستطاب بلکه چه عالمگیر و کدام بدر منیر - بطریق شوق بی پروا نگاشتنی دارد و با همگ سازی نیازی سراز برده بیرون می آرد -

[Otherwise of what moment is the Nawāb and who is His Excellency? Nay, even what is 'Ālamgīr and what is the value of his glaring titles? I composed it selflessly and spoke in a disinterested manner.]

In 1100 A.H. (1588-89 A.D.) Bedil fell gravely ill, and was confined to bed for full seven months. He had a high burning fever which consumed his strength altogether. Every hope of recovery was lost. During those days a friend happened to open the book which contained Bedil's painting by Anp Chitra. The friend, immediately noticing the portrait, said, "It appears some child touched the painting with wet hands and effaced its colour." All those present were sorry. Bedil himself saw it that only the indistinct outlines remained—an illusion of the once colourful portrait!

بدل زان گستان همین داغ ماند      طاووس آخر پر زاغ ماند

[Of that garden only a scar was left on the heart, and  
Of the peacock only a crow's feather was left behind.]

When Bedil recovered and was again full of vigour and vitality, he thought of looking at the portrait. He was wonderstruck to see that it was as colourful as ever, and it appeared as if Bedil was smiling through it. All were surprised to see this. In a fit of bewilderment, Bedil tore it to pieces and buried it.

1 *Rasg'at-e-Bedil*, p. 44

2 *Kulliyat-e-Bedil, Chahar 'Unsur*, pp. 111-12.

From this account it is clear that the portrait of Bedil, painted by Artūp Chaurā, one of the master painters of those days, was destroyed by the poet himself. But Anand Rām Mukhlīs (1111-1154/1699-1751) a pupil of Bedil, speaks about another portrait of our poet:

در کتابخانه فقیر دیوان ایشان بدستخط ایشان است و تا صورت و معنی  
هر دو بجلوه آید نتیجه ایشان را فی برای ورق آخر دیوان است۔

[In the library of this Faqir (Mukhlīs) there is an autograph copy of his (Bedil's) Diwān. And, so that the form and the spirit should exist together, his portrait decorates the last leaf of the Diwān.]

In the *Ma'ārif* for January 1934, it has been stated that this Diwān of Bedil exists in the Habib Garj Library. The Diwān is said to have 5,364 couplets of all sorts, and has been called 'Matchless.' It is said to have this significant remark in the handwriting of Mukhlīs.

بدستخط میرزا بیدل علیہ الرحمۃ۔ فقیر اندر ام مخلص از نظر میرزا صاحب  
گذر نیمہ این معنی بصحت رسید۔

[With the autograph of Hazrat Mirzā Bedil (may his soul rest in peace!). Faqir Anand Rām Mukhlīs showed it to Mirzā Shāhib, and established its authenticity.]

It is a pity that no mention of the portrait has been made. We have, therefore, to be content with the pen-portrait of Bedil given previously.

Bedil was now living in Shāh Jahānābād, but as his attention had been claimed chiefly by the political events of those days, we could not speak so far about his life in the capital except giving an account of his illness. It is, therefore, essential that an attempt should be made to show how Bedil led his life in the historic city. First of all, we shall speak about his social relations. As it has been already pointed out, 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, the patron of Bedil, was in those days in Shāh Jahānābād, as the Governor of the city. The Khān was a mystic poet and was well versed in mystical lore. As weekly meetings had been arranged with him, Bedil used to see him regularly. Khushid says that in 'Āqil Khān's society, Bedil learnt much about

1. Jallus, S. M., *Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Poets in India*, p. 133.

2. Anand Bihārī, *Chazina-e-Āmirshāh*, p. 413, Muḥlis Anand Rām, *Chamustan*, p. 58, Murādī, *Āqd-e-Su'ayyā*, p. 53.

3. Mukhlīs, *A page in his hand*, f. 1. (Also in *Oriental College Magazine*.)

4. It is said the Diwān was compiled in 1093 A.H. But it must be noted, Mukhlīs was not born then. See *Bazm-e-Timūrīya*, p. 310.

5. Sher Khān Iodhī, *Mur'at-ul-Khawāṣṣ*, pp. 122-23. Sarfraz Khān *Kalimāt-ush-Shu'arā*, p. 40. Shāh Jahān, *Ma'asir-ul-Umūd*, pp. 221-22.

mysticism and poetry. Whenever in the meetings, 'Aqī Khān Rāzī complimented Bedl for his verses, he used to stand up and bow respectfully to the Khān. This respect, Khushgū says,<sup>1</sup> was merely on account of the learning and spiritual eminence of 'Aqī Khān Rāzī, and not at all on account of his exalted worldly position. In the *Kulliyāt of Bedl* there is a very eloquent poem,<sup>2</sup> in which he speaks glowingly about the mystical ways of 'Aqī Khān Rāzī, and urges the people to show utmost reverence to this perfect man :

بدعا این است کای بی دانشان جهل کیش  
دیده بکشاید و طوف حضرت انسان کعبه

[I mean

O thou foolish and ignorant people,

Open your eyes and circumambulate round the Perfect Man.]

This poem declares that in the person of 'Aqī Khān Rāzī, Bedl saw the realisation of his cherished ideals about Man. This mutual respect made their relations so intimate that in one of his letters<sup>3</sup> we find Bedl recommending one 'Alāud Dīn to the grand noble.

Next we turn to the long and intimate acquaintanceship, amounting to passionate love, which existed between Bedl and Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and his sons. This is the glorious chapter of Bedl's life, detailed account of which will require a whole volume, but, owing to the considerations of space, I shall try to be as brief as possible. Mir Ghulām 'Alī Āzād says that Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was devoted<sup>4</sup> to Bedl, with all the members of his family, and Bedl too was most sincerely attached to them. The Nawāb had three sons: Mir Luṭf Ullah, Mir 'Ināyatullah Shukir Khān, and Mir Karām Ullah. But first of all we shall speak about Bedl's relations with Nawāb Shukrullah Khān Khānsā.<sup>5</sup> himself

Mir Ghulām 'Alī Āzād states<sup>6</sup> that Nawāb Shukrullah Khān's last appointment was as the Governor of Mewāt where he remained till his death. He was, therefore, almost always away from Shah Jahanābād, but his correspondence with Bedl never stopped, and at the time of his occasional visits to the Metropolis, meetings with the poet were eagerly arranged.

We have seen that once he took the poet away to Mewāt. At another time Shukrullah Khān was in Sahārapūr and Bedl went to

1. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1912, pp. 40, 41.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedl*, *Qill'āt*, p. 53.

3. *Ruq'at-e-Bedl*, Lucknow Edition, p. 63.

4. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 149.

5. Khānsā was the Takht-ul of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān. See Sher Khān's *Ma'āz ul Khayāl*, p. 292.

6. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 149.

see him. It was the rainy season and floods of water were rolling about. From Luni to Sheikupura, Bedil had to swim, but still he could not reach Sahāranpūr and hence returned<sup>1</sup> to Dehli. Moreover when Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was away, a stream of presents continued to pour in from him to Bedil. Thus we see him sending<sup>2</sup> sugar, patched clothing of a Darwish, cloth, henna on the occasion of 'Īd; oil of roses, almond-oil, bottles of distilled rose-water, myrobalan and zedoary ( علیه وجدوار ) when Bedil fell ill; jam, clothing for the summer season, and mangoes from Sahāranpūr. We see that Nawāb Shukrullah Khān remembers Bedil on all occasions—on festivals, at the change of seasons, when the poet is indisposed, and ordinarily when the Nawāb thinks something will please Bedil. This, we know, is in addition to the daily allowance of Rs. 2 and the residential quarters arranged for Bedil by the Nawāb.

Bedil, on his part, had exclusive and excessive fondness for Nawāb Shukrullah Khān. At the end of a letter<sup>3</sup> Bedil writes to the Nawāb :

چه آسکان است و هم غیر گنج در دماغ من  
توئی منظور اگر چشم توئی مسموع اگر گوشم

[How is it possible that I should have fancies about others in my mind ?

My eyes have thee in view and my ears are lent to thine voice alone.]

In another letter<sup>4</sup> he says :

زبان را حز ستایش آنجانب نفس کشیدن خجالت گویائی و دیده را جز  
تصور آنجمال آغوش کشیدن یاس بیندئی۔

[It would be shameful for my tongue to speak except in expressing my gratefulness to you; and would be disappointed with my sight if my eyes entertain fancies except about your lovely beauty.]

In 1101 A.H. (1689-90 A.D.) marriage took place of Mīr 'Ināyatullah, son of Shukrullah Khān, and Bedil wrote two congratulatory poems on the occasion. Every hemistich of the one<sup>5</sup> beginning with this verse :

1. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, p. 87.

2. *Ibid*, Lucknow Edition, pp. 14, 15, 26, 29, 35, 39, 71, 75, 77, 90, and 92 respectively.

3. *Ibid*, p. 71.

4. *Ibid*, p. 87.

5. *Shēr Khān Lohī, Mir'ātul Khayāl*, p. 392.



کاشانه صلاى عیش دارد      ای دهر طرب بهار کت باد

[This lodging invites you for merry making

O Time ! be honoured with mirth]

is a chronogram, while in the other<sup>1</sup> the chronogram is : *فرس مد و مهر تابان* (the conjunction of the moon and the luminous sun). The latter poem has a very fluent and delightful metre and can rightly be considered classical. Similarly, a marriage<sup>2</sup> had taken place in Shukrullah Khān's family in 1099 A. H. (1687-88 A.D.). Bedil had written a nice poem on the occasion. We have also seen how Bedil wrote chronograms when Shukrullah Khān was victorious in Mewāt. There are short poems (قطعات) written on the occasion<sup>3</sup> of the Islamic festivals and on the Nawāb's promotion<sup>4</sup> to higher Manṣabs.

But we read poetry of the highest order when Bedil sings with an ardent longing in the absence of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān asking<sup>5</sup> him to come back to Shah Jahānābād :

ای انجمن عشرت جاوید یا      ای حاصل صد هزار آسید یا  
صلت کده است بی رخت کشور ما      با طیل و غم چو نور خورشید یا

[O the assembly of eternal bliss, come hither !

O the yield of a hundred thousand hopes, come hither !

Without thy presence this and is the abode of darkness,

With banners and drums, like the light of the sun, come hither.]

And again<sup>6</sup> with greater sadness, deeper emotions, and profounder thoughts :

ای بهارستان اقبال ای چمن صیفا یا  
فصل سیر دل گذشت اکنون به چشم ما یا  
عرض تخصیص از فضولیهائی آداب وفاست  
چون نگه در دیده یا چون روح در اعضا یا  
بیش ازین نتوان حریف دایع حرمین ریستی  
یا مرا از خود سر آید که هستی یا یا

[O the flower-garden of fortune ! O, with forehead like an Orchard ! Come now,

The time for a walk through the heart has ended  
Before my eyes you should come now.

1 *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Safdari Edition, *Qit'at*, p. 45.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

3 *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, pp. 13, 29.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 30 ; Beale, T. W., *Miftāḥ-e-Tarāikh*, p. 286.

5 *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Safdari Edition, *Qit'at*, p. 58.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 52.

Making special requests is against the etiquette of fidelity.  
 Like sight in the eyes or like the soul in limbs, come now,  
 I can no longer stand this heart sore of separation.  
 Take me away where you are, or come now.]

In a letter<sup>1</sup> too, the well-born Bedil writes in this strain to Shukrullah Khān. When the Nawāb pays visits to Delhi Bedil's joy knows no bounds. He writes forceful, magnificent, sweet and soul stirring<sup>2</sup> poems which, it is regretted, cannot be quoted at length for want of space.

Where there is boundless love, all formality usually disappears, and a unique unity of hearts is the result. We, therefore, find Bedil as one of the members of the family of Shukrullah Khān—a member who is loved, respected, trusted, and whose advice is cherished and valued. Nawāb Shukrullah Khān wants to arrange for the matrimony<sup>3</sup> of his daughter and he consults Bedil. Delicacy of such tender and sincere relations also comes into view when we read Bedil expressing<sup>4</sup> regret at leaving Shukrullah Khān's house without saying good-bye. At one place Bedil writes even about his slight bronchitis<sup>5</sup> to the Nawāb. There are also letters in which Bedil recommends<sup>6</sup> people to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān. Moreover, we find them sharing each other's sorrows. Bedil writes letters of condolence when any of Shukrullah Khān's relatives passes away.

Yet there is another phase of their relations which is far more important from our point of view. The literary world owes a great debt of gratitude to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, because it was due to his unreserved attachment for Bedil that we possess some brilliant literary gems.

Bedil got much-needed encouragement, appreciation, and stimulus from his association with the Nawāb, who was himself, as we know, a poet. Bedil sent<sup>7</sup> his *Tilam-e-Hayat* to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān who gave titles to its different sections and sub sections. *Tūr-e-Masrūr* was composed at the instance<sup>8</sup> of the Nawāb. The poem *Gil-e-Zarī*, which is said to have 137 couplets, was also sent to Shukrullah Khān on completion.<sup>9</sup> In a letter Bedil wrote to the Nawāb that *Qasṣṣe 'Uzrā* and the *Masrārī 'Irfan* are both<sup>10</sup> being written, and Bedil must have sent these works on their completion to him,

1. *Ruqṣāt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 5.

2. *Kalāmāt-e-Bedil*, Saif-ur-Rai Edition, Qasṣa, pp. 42, 51.

3. *Ruqṣāt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 27.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 14.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 10, 62.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 63.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

had the Nawāb been alive. A selection of Bedl's Diwān was also made by Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and Bedl wrote<sup>1</sup>:

عقب کریم بہانہ جو بہت ہر کہ را پسندید پسندید و ہر چہ را برگزید برگزید

[The favour of the munificent seeks excuses. Whatever it liked, it liked, and whatever it selected, it selected.]

In addition to this, there are other instances of their collaboration in literary work. Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was very much pleased with a *Motriz*<sup>2</sup> and asked Bedl to complete<sup>3</sup> a *ghazal* in the same metre and rhyme. The Nawāb wrote a short poem necessitating the use of چشم و دل and sent it to Bedl who wrote a similar<sup>4</sup> poem. A poem of Bedl was rendered into prose<sup>5</sup> by Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and at another place we find Bedl correcting<sup>6</sup> the Nawāb's verses. Besides, a small pamphlet in prose, called *Gadrī Nānā*<sup>7</sup> was written by Bedl when Nawāb Shukrullah Khān sent a *Gadrī* (patched clothing) to the poet. These literary compositions are, it is clear, in addition to the ones mentioned in the previous paragraphs.

In the presence of all this data, we can safely assert that with almost all the literary productions of Bedl Nawāb Shukrullah Khān is related in one way or the other. Moreover, we know Bedl wrote his *Tilism-e-Hayat* in 1030 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.) and he began his *Chahār 'Unsur* in or about 1033 A.H. (1683-84 A.D.). As already pointed out, we observe that for a long period of fifteen years Bedl produced no work. As soon as he left Mathura owing to the disturbances, and settled permanently in Delhi, full bloom of his literary talents began and his comparative sterility was suddenly changed into prolificness of unusual character. We are therefore, thankful to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān for stimulating Bedl's mind to literary activity, by establishing a sweet and enviable relationship with him and by arranging all sorts of comforts for him. The Nawāb also gained much. He earned eternal fame simply due to Bedl.

Of the sons of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān Mir 'Ināyatullah Shākir Khān's devotion to Bedl is unsurpassed. After Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, 'Abdul Wahhāb Fakhār, the author of *Tazkira-e-Benāzīr*, mentions<sup>8</sup> in particular the name of Shākir Khān, who

1. *Rasq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 17.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

4. Kābul Musam Mt. No. 33; *Rasq'at-e-Bedil*, p. 15.

5. *Ibid.*, 'Abdul Wahhāb, *Tazkira-e-Benāzīr*, p. 32.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

distinguished himself for his reverential regard for our poet. Shāh Khān had won this distinction during the lifetime of his father, as the following verses<sup>1</sup> show :

چند نگ و ہوئی قطرہ ز عمان پرس  
عزم شبنم ز میر تابان پرس  
ن مرجع بیدل بہ یقین فہم کشتی  
از شکر تہ حار و شاکر خان پرس

[Ask of the Gulf of 'Omān, about the efforts made in search  
by a drop.

Ask of the radiant luminary about the intention of the  
dew-drops.

If you want to make sure about the resort of Bedil,

Ask of Shukrullah Khān and Shākir Khān ]

Shākir Khān's fondness for Bedil was so overwhelming that when Bedil tried to compare the father with the son, in this respect, he found no difference :

اے شاکر خان ۲ اگر دلت آگہ است  
آن شکر اللہ خن فی اشتاہ ست  
آجہ اف آمدہ است و این جا تہ  
چون وانگری اف خدو اللہ است

It is because of this deep and profound love that Shākir Khān can claim, of course after Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, the largest number of the letters written by Bedil. In a letter<sup>4</sup> a prayer for Shākir Khān gushes out of the heart of Bedil which is unique on account of its spontaneity :

یہ محفل شمع تابان درگستہ رنگ و بو باشی  
اسہٹی ہر کیجا باشی بہار آبرو باشی

[May you be a shining lamp in the assembly, and hue  
and fragrance in the garden.

May you everywhere be the flower of dignity !]

Such like spontaneous expressions of tender emotions can be multiplied<sup>5</sup> but the space does not permit. We see that Shākir also, like his father, used to send presents<sup>6</sup> to Bedil.

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Qist 2d*, p. 60

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, pp. 8, 23, 35, 38, 40, 43, 61, 71, 88-90, 93-99, 101, 129

4. *Ibid.*, p. 33

5. *Ibid.*, p. 71, 90; *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Qist 2d*, pp. 44, 50, 56. The poem beginning with : التوبہ ای دل کہ عمر رنہ درجتم (Good news, O my heart, I have regained my passed age) shows in particular the joy Bedil felt on the arrival of Shākir Khān to Delhi.

6. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, pp. 35, 41, 71.

Next, we shall speak of Mir Karamullah 'Āq. Khān 'Āshiq the youngest son of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān. Karamullah Khān was a poet and a pupil of Bedil. The Nawābzāda earned a fame by writing a commentary<sup>1</sup> of the Holy Qur'ān. Bedil's excessive love for his pupil is manifest from the following couplets, which Bedil wrote in a letter<sup>2</sup> to the Mir:

از حسرت دیدار چه گویم چه تویم دل می کشد آوار چه گویم چه نویسم  
حجت کش شوق است چه تحریر و چه تقریر آخر کم و بسیار چه گویم چه نویسم

[About my longing for a meeting with you, what should I say or write?

My heart is under oppression, what should I say or write?

My writings and my speech cannot express my yearning;

After all, what more or less should I say or write?]

Mir Karamullah also used to send presents<sup>3</sup> to Bedil.

Last comes Mir Lutfullah, the eldest<sup>4</sup> son of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān. It appears that this Nawābzāda could not make headway in his relations with Bedil during the lifetime of his father. We only know that when in 1093 A.H. (1681-83 A.D.) Mir Lutfullah's son was born, Bedil composed two chronograms<sup>5</sup> نیل باغ ادب and ندای عالم فیض.

Mutual respect and attachment of this kind is not tolerated by jealous people. There was a Qalandar, named Shād, who, out of jealousy and grudge, began to accuse Bedil of "flattering Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and his sons notwithstanding the fact that they were his pupils." This, he said, did not become a *faqīr*. One day, a certain Shād Martazā told Bedil that the Qalandar had again indulged in his wonted accusations. Being sensitively jealous of his own reputation, Bedil flew into rage at this uncalled-for insolence from Shād, and, in a letter,<sup>6</sup> at first furiously called Shād an infidel, an ingrateful ape, a stupid bear, the tweezers of the public region (سویچه زحارت) and a foul-mouthed, contemptible, and wretched person, and then told him that he (Bedil) was not at all the teacher of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and his sons. If, on the other hand, Bedil continued, out of courtesy they called themselves Bedil's pupils, he was not so shameless as to call himself the teacher of those noble souls who were, no doubt, his patrons.

1. Sarkhish, Muhammad Afzal, *Kalimat-ush-Shu'arā*, p. 80; 'All Hasan Khān, *Subh-e-Gulshan*, p. 27; Khān Khān, in *Ma'arif*, July 1942, p. 41; *Rajj'at-e-Bedil*, pp. 31, 93.

2. 'All Hasan Khān, *Subh-e-Gulshan*, p. 271.

3. *Rajj'at-e-Bedil*, Safaari Edition, pp. 105-06.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

Jealous criticism and rivalry were expressed in another quarter also. Nāṣir 'Alī Sirhindī, who had been in Karnatak<sup>1</sup> in the Deccan for some time in 1103 A.H. (1691-92 A.D.) with Nawāb Z̄īn al-Qādr Khān, the brave general<sup>2</sup> of Aurangzeb, had come to live permanently in Sādh Jāhān. We know Nāṣir 'Alī was at one time a favourite<sup>3</sup> of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān. When he came to know that unsurpassed love prevailed between Bedl and the Nawāb, he felt jealous. Sher Khān Lodhī says that one day in a meeting<sup>4</sup> at Nawāb Shukrullah Khān's, Bedl had a chance to see Shaikh Nāṣir 'Alī. Bedl recited a ghazal beginning with the following verse :

مِند آئینہ کیفیت با ظاہر آرائی  
نہاں ہندیم چوں معنی چندین لفظ ہدی

[The mirror of our quality could not show our real ly.

Like the meaning we remained hidden in so many words  
explaining our nature ]

The Shaikh grew ecstatic on hearing most of the verses, but about the *Mutla'* (the opening verse) he said, "The idea expressed in the second hem-stitch is against the rule. The meaning is always subordinate to the word and, when the word is known, the meaning should automatically become clear." On hearing this, Bedl smiled and said in reply, "The meaning, which you regard subordinate to the word, is itself nothing but a word. Take the example of 'Man'. In spite of all the details and the commentaries which we find about 'Man' in various books, his nature is still a mystery." This peremptory reply silenced Nāṣir 'Alī. As Sher Khān Lodhī completed<sup>5</sup> his *Taq'rira Mir'āṭ al-Khayāl*, in which this event has been narrated, in 1102 A.H. (1690-91 A.D.), this meeting must have taken place before that date. When on his return from Karnatak in 1103 A.H. (1691-92 A.D.) Nāṣir 'Alī observed greater intimacy between Shukrullah Khān and Bedl, the jealous poet naturally would have been more incensed.

The Shaikh was only four or five years older<sup>6</sup> than Bedl, but at this time his literary activities had shown a decline, while, about the fertile genius of Bedl, Khushgū<sup>7</sup> says, "Shāh Gulshan remarked now

1. *Āzād Bilgāmī, Sarra-e-Āzād*, p. 137

2. Sāṭi, *Ma'nir-e-Ālamsiri*, p. 290. Sāṭi, Nawāb Khān, *Ma'nir al-Umarā*, I, p. 95

3. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'āṭ al-Khayāl*, pp. 232-302

4. *Ibid.*, p. 309-30

5. *Ibid.*, p. 465

6. *Āzād Bilgāmī, Sarra-e-Āzād*, p. 131, Nāṣir 'Alī was about sixty when he died in 1108 A.H.

7. Khushgū, in *Mir'āṭ al-Khayāl*, July 1942, p. 44.

and again that at the time when Bedl had composed 30,000 verses, and was making progress by leaps and bounds, Miān Nāṣir 'Alī ceased to make any progress, and was contented with what he had already written." But Nāṣir 'Alī found a very able lieutenant in the person of the famous poet Muḥammad Afzal Sarkhūsh, who was brought up in Sirhind and who used to practise versification with Nāṣir 'Alī Sirhindī, when both of them were of tender age.<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad Afzal Sarkhūsh, too, had settled<sup>2</sup> in Shāh Jahānābād. Sarkhūsh says that at the instance<sup>3</sup> of Miān Nāṣir 'Alī, he applied first hemistich to many verses of Bedl and changed them into *Matla's* (opening verses). I shall quote here only one example<sup>4</sup> which appears to be a very successful attempt on the part of Sarkhūsh.

Bedl :

به ارضت نگه‌ی آخر است تحصیل برات رنگم و برگل نوشته اند مرا

[In the twinkling of an eye my acquisitions are no more ;  
I am a draft in colour written on a petal]

Sarkhūsh :

زی ثباتی عشرت سرشته اند مرا برات رنگم و برگل نوشته اند مرا

[I have been kneaded with the transitoriness of pleasures ;  
I am a draft in colour written on a petal.]

The word ثباتی undoubtedly makes the idea clear, but, from the literary point of view, the charm contained in the appropriate words سرشته and رنگ و برگل has been lost. There are other<sup>5</sup> instances also but those need not be quoted for want of space.

Bedl had a favourite pupil,<sup>6</sup> named Ahmad—a rebeck-player (زربوز), whose original *nom-de-plume* was Maftūn but he had changed it to 'Ibrat at the suggestion of Bedl. 'Ibrat had derived much benefit from Bedl, and was so dear to him that when he ('Ibrat) died in 1125 A.H. (1713-14 A.D.), tears went on trickling down the eyes of Bedl for a long time. Once<sup>7</sup> Nāṣir 'Alī composed a *ghazal* with the following *Matla* and proclaimed in Shāh Jahānābād that if anyone wrote a *ghazal* in reply, he (Nāṣir 'Alī) would be convinced of the poet's leading position in the Realm of Literature.

1 Sarkhūsh, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, Preface p. 1.

2 Azād B. grāmī, *Sara-i-Azād*, p. 144. Sarkhūsh, *Kalimātush Shu'arā* Preface, pp. 3, 4.

3 *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 15.

4 Ibid. pp. 15, 16.

5 Ibid.

6 Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, pp. 372-73; Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1927 p. 46; Siddiq Hasan, *Sham-e-Arjuman*, p. 320.

7 Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, pp. 375, 382.

دہنم کوئے تو سخی کنعان دہنگ اند کہ تانہ گر نکند فاش اش سگ نہ

[The dwellers in your street are the grieved persons enduring hardships,

Whose groans if do not reveal them, they will remain hidden like fire in the flint]

By chance, none wrote a ghazal in reply but Bedil asked Ahmad 'Ibrat to compose one. 'Ibrat, therefore, composed a nice ghazal, with the following *Milla* :

یوادی، تو کہ وا ماندگن دل تنگ اند

راشک خویش رواں همچو چشمه' تنگ اند

[In your valley the gloomy and disappointed persons

Weep, and with their tears a stream, like that of a mountain, flows out]

Both the ghazals have been given<sup>1</sup> in the *Tazkira Mir'at-ul Ahyā*. When Nāsr 'Alī heard the ghazal of 'Ibrat, he was reticent. It was because of this rivalry that when the *Shakh* breathed his last<sup>2</sup> in 1108 A.H. (1696-97 A.D.), Bedil's chronograms<sup>3</sup> was:

رنگ تاز بشکست

As in the beginning<sup>4</sup> *Shakh* Sa'dallah Gulshan was a pupil of Sarkhush, and afterwards had begun to associate himself with Bedil also *Khushgū* once thought<sup>5</sup> that Gulshan could prove instrumental in bringing Sarkhush and Bedil together. *Khushgū* was of opinion that reconciliation between these two literary giants would certainly prove immensely fruitful. *Khushgū* and Gulshan, therefore, together approached Sarkhush, who refused, saying, "Perhaps you want to see the fight of two elephants." Sarkhush then recited the following *Milla*<sup>6</sup> of Bedil :

از فضل حق ز هر دو جهان رم گرفتہ ایم  
یک در گرفتہ ایم و چه حکیم گرفتہ ایم

[Through Divine Favour, we have abandoned both the worlds,  
We have taken hold of one door and how tightly we hold it.]

and remarked that *فضل حق* (Divine Favour) was required everywhere except in this verse. *Khushgū* says that *Sirāj-ud-Din Ali Khān Ārzū*<sup>6</sup> regarded this objection as absolutely wrong. This, however, goes to the credit of Sarkhush that in his *Tazkira Kalimatash Shu'arā*

1. *Sher Khān Lodhī Mir'at-ul Ahyāl*, pp. 375, 382

2. *Azād Bilgrāmī, Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 131.

3. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942

4. *Sarkhush, Kalimatash Shu'arā*, p. 98

5. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, for July 1942, p. 44

6. *Khān Ārzū* (1100-1169 A.H.), a great linguist and poet, who left *Mushabat e Usmā*, *'Alf-e Kubrā*, *Sirāj-ul Lughat*, *Chirāh e 'Idāyat*, *Nasādirul Afā*, and *Dād-e-Sakhun* on philology and rhetoric. See *Sarw-e-Āzād*, pp. 227-31.



which he kept improving' till 1115 A.H. (1703-04 A.D.), he has 'unqualified praise for Bedl as a poet and admits that no poet in Shāh Jahānābād was a match<sup>2</sup> for him. This admission must have been made after the death of Nāṣir 'Alī.

From the literary field we should turn to the spiritual domain. Both Nāṣir 'Alī and Sarkhūsh were Sūfīs. The former lived in Shāh Jahānābād with claims to "polehood"<sup>3</sup> (قطبیت) while the latter says<sup>4</sup> about himself:

سرخوش چو رسید کارفرش بکمال      مرشد دادش خلافت از استقلال  
روی طنب آورد جهانی به نیاز      تاریخ شده خیفه شاه جلال

[When the mysticism of Sarkhūsh attained perfection,  
His spiritual leader granted him vicariate,  
A large number of people came respectfully for benedictions,  
The chronogram was: Vicar of Shāh-e-Jalāl.]

Miān Nāṣir 'Alī was about fifty when he claimed polehood and Sarkhūsh was<sup>5</sup> forty-five when he talked about his perfection (کمال) in Mysticism. In direct contrast with these pretentious claims, Bedl's humility is marvellous. At the age of twenty-six he had realised that the titles like غوث, ابدال and قطب were quite unsubstantial and about کمال (perfection) we have only to read the following verses<sup>6</sup> from Bedl's *Muḥīt-e-A'ẓam*, which he wrote at the youthful age of twenty-four:

شنیدم که شیخ زان بایزید      شیخ دشت باعشق گفت و شنید  
به بحر حضور تجلی شهود      خیالش تقاب تمنا کشود  
که یارب چه آرم من بوالفضول      که باید درس بزم رنگ نبول  
ندا آمد از حضرت ذوالجلال      که فرش است اینجا بهار کمال  
زجنت عبادات و علم و عمل      مہیاست این کشور بی خلل  
کمال ترا کس خریدار نیست      متاعی بجز نقص درکار نیست

[I have heard that Bayazid,<sup>7</sup> the leader of the world,  
Had one night conference with Love.  
In that flood of Glorious Light,  
His mind ventured to reveal a wish.  
"My Lord! What should this worthless person do

1. Sarkhūsh, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, Preface, p. 13

2. Ibid., p. 14.

3. Ibid., p. 76.

4. Ibid., p. 129, footnots.

5. *Āzād Bilgānī*, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 144

6. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedl*, *Ṣafdarī Edition*, *Muḥīt-e-A'ẓam*, p. 16.

7. Abu Yazid al-Bastāmī (261/873); 'Atiqār, Farīd-ud-Dīn, *Taḥkīratul Auliya* p. 89; Smith, Margaret, *Mystics of Islam*, p. 26.

Which may be honoured with acceptance in this assembly ?"  
 He heard a Voice from that Glorious Presence,  
 "The bloom of perfection is Our floor  
 Things like prayer, knowledge, and good actions  
 Are all assorted in this flawless Realm.  
 None would buy your perfection,  
 Nothing but imperfection is required here ]

Bedil was in this way leading a very happy and successful life when two calamities befell him. In 1103 A.H. (1696-97 A.D.) Nawāb 'Āqil Khān Rāzī died.<sup>1</sup> Bedil mourned this loss in a poem,<sup>2</sup> and the chronogram was : مهدی جمجاء عالی خان نماد. In the poem hints were cleverly made about the grand noble as a poet, as an eminent mystic, and as a great administrator. In the same year on 8th Rabi' I, (October 5, 1695) Nawāb Shukrullah Khān also passed away. Bedil's grief was insupportable and a cry of lamentation burst out of his heart :

نریاد کان جمال کرم در جهان نماد طوئس جلوه ریز دریں آشیان نماد

[Alas! the glory of munificence is no more in the world,

The peacock displaying its beauty is no more in this nest.]

The following verse of this threnody<sup>3</sup> shows the extent of bereavement :

طوئان گریه بسکه زهر مجمع جوش زد جز دجله در مدالک هندوستان نماد

[Every crowd burst into a food of tears ;

Nothing except the river Tigris remained in the length and breadth of Hindustan.]

While writing this poem of ten couplets, every hemistich of which is a chronogram, Bedil was reminded of the kind regards and faithfulness (کرم و وفاء) of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, the qualities which Bedil could never forget. Another<sup>4</sup> chronogram was : هست از ماء رح لاؤل.

In a letter<sup>5</sup> to Mir Lutfullah, the eldest son of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, Bedil sorrowfully remarked why he could not die with his friends and why he strayed behind his caravan. In another letter<sup>6</sup> to Mir Lutfullah, condoling on his father's death, Bedil says :

از دست رفتن دامن دوستی که سلسلهٔ موافقتش دوازده سال محرک عشرت  
 آهنگی ساز آفاق بود چشم عشرت یکباره بر روئی ادبار تنهایی و یکی کشود -  
 به صعب مشغلی که به علاج تفرقهٔ دل توان برداشت نه طاقت حرکتی که به  
 شغل - میر و میر طرح آوارگی توان انداخت -

1 Sāqī, *Ma'āshir-e-'Ālamgiri*, p. 393.

2 *Kuliyāt-e-Bedil*, Q. 163, p. 57.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*, p. 52.

5 *Rasā'id e Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 72.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 76.

[On account of losing the skirt of Fortune, whose agreeableness made my life pleasant continuously for twelve years, my afflicted eyes find themselves face to face with loneliness and helplessness. There is neither the society of a kind-hearted friend, which might prove a remedy for the bereaved soul, nor have I the nerves to move about, so that I might go abroad (and remove my grief).]

This quotation shows that from 1096 A.H. (1685 A.D.), the date of the arrival of Bedil in Dehli from Mithra, to 1108 A.H. (1697 A.D.), the date of the sad demise of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, the period of twelve years was of unparalleled happiness for Bedil.

From a perusal of the *Letters of Bedil* and his *Qittat* we learn that Bedil's relations continued as usual with the successors of Bahā 'Āqī Khān Rāzi and Nawāb Shukrullah Khān. Qayyūm Khān Bedil, the son of 'Āqī Khān Rāzi, was a poet. He used to send his ghazals to Bedil, and letters were also exchanged between them on occasions. In 1114 A.H. (1702-03 A.D.), the title of Shukrullah Khān was granted by Aurangzeb to Mir Lutfullah, the eldest son of Shukrullah Khān I. Bedil was very much pleased and communicated his congratulations in a letter, every phrase of which was a chronogram. In verse too, the event was similarly commemorated and the following hemistich is in particular noteworthy:

زند آں رودی که موجش و صب دریا آب داد

[That river has eternal life whose waves even have the qualities of a river]

This is again a lengthy account and I should be content with the most essential things. At one time (1110, 1698) Mir 'Ināyatullah Shukir Khān, the second son of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān I, was appointed the Governor of Srīh Jahānūdād and Bedil was very happy.<sup>1</sup> At another time, to the great sorrow of Bedil, Shukir Khān was called by the Emperor to the Deccan, and there he arranged a Jāgir for Bedil, but our magnanimous *Fayr* refused to take possession of it. With Mir Karamullah Khān 'Ashiq, the youngest son of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān I, too, Bedil's relations continued to be as cordial as ever.

1. *Farā'id-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 5.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 110, 124.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

5. *Farā'id-e-Bedil*, *Qittat*.

6. *Rasā'id-e-Bedil*, p. 88.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 99, 101, 102.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 104.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 45, 61, 103, 105.

In the preceding paragraphs I had the occasion to speak about two pupils of Mirza 'Abdul Qādir Bedil, i.e. Ahmad 'Ibrat and Mir Karamullah Khān 'Asniq. This fact of Bedil's having pupils brings to mind a very significant remark made by Rieu. He says, "In Delhi Bedil's house was the common resort of all lovers of poetry." At this stage I would, therefore, like to give here, one by one, a brief and relevant account of those persons who came in contact with Bedil in this connection during the reign of Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr.

1. *Mir Qamar-ud Din Shākir* son of Ghāzi-ud Din Khān Banādūr Feroz Jang. This is the original name of Nizām-ul Mulk Āṣaf Jah Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr granted him the Mansab of 5,000, with the title of *Chin Qlij Khān Bahādur*, and was the *shubedār* of Bājpur till the Emperor's reign.<sup>2</sup> In tracing the gradual development of *Chin Qlij Khān's* relations with Bedil, we come across a letter<sup>3</sup> from which we learn that the poet sent his *Diwān* and his *Masnawī*s to the Nawāb at his request. The joy which Bedil felt on the arrival of *Chin Qlij Khān's* letter is manifest from a poem<sup>4</sup> which is remarkable for its spontaneity, freshness of similes and metaphors, and the delightful metre, and in which there is a prayer for a meeting with the Nawāb:

یار بیاں تجلی رحمت کہ فیض تست      ابریز نور کن ز رخس چشم بیدلان

[O God! Let that Glory of Thy compass on, which is thine favour.

Let Bedil's eyes be filled with the light of h's shining face.]

And when the Nawāb paid a visit, Bedil was highly pleased. Only a few selected verses are cited from the poem<sup>5</sup> written on the occasion:

یار بادہ کہ بوئی بہار جان آمد      فروغ سہرا دل چن قلیح خان آمد  
بسیر کشور ما از توید آتیش      سعادت آمد و امن آمد و امن آمد  
ندشت بدی ما طاعت زیارت او      کرم نمود و بدین خستگان آمد

[Bring wine, I smell the advent of the life giving spring.

The glory of the sun of Eternity, i.e. *Chin Qlij Khān*, has arrived.

By the happy news of his fortunate visit, in our land,  
Felicity, peace, and security have arrived.

1. Rieu, *Catalogue of the British Museum Arabic and Persian MSS* F. 706 B.

2. Azād Bilgrāmī, *Khasāna-e-'Āmirā*, p. 35; Sā'ī, *Ma'āyir-e-'Ālamgīr*, p. 340.

3. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, pp. 14-15.

4. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Qit'at, p. 44.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

Our Bedil had not the strength to see him.

He showed kindness and himself came to see the exhausted ones.]

These relations developed into sincere friendship,<sup>1</sup> and, after Nawāb Shukrullah Khān I, the second member of the nobility of those days, entering into profoundest relationship with Bedil, was this Chīn Qlīj Khān. Whenever Bedil went to see the Nawāb at his residence he would respectfully receive and see off Bedil, and always offered<sup>2</sup> his Masnad to him. Visits were returned<sup>3</sup> by the Nawāb, and whenever he came, Bedil used to receive him at the door. Then, hand in hand, he would take the Nawāb inside, and very delightful meetings used to take place. The Nawāb very much liked the sweets prepared with eggs (حلوائی بیضه مرغ) and he, therefore, often requested Bedil for the same. At the time of departure, when Bedil offered the Nawāb books like *Kīmīyā e Sa'ādāt*, and *Nafhāt*,<sup>4</sup> the Nawāb would say, 'Such like books are in abundance in my own library. I want the blessed gift of your own works.' Then Bedil used to offer him autograph copies of his own works.

We have evidence<sup>5</sup> in support of the fact that the Nawāb sent his ghazals to Bedil for correction, and he, therefore, always regarded himself as the pupil<sup>6</sup> of Bedil. Khushgū says that the Nawāb compiled his Dīwān<sup>7</sup> with the help of Bedil. In Haidarābād Deccan, two volumes of the Nawāb's Dīwān, one with the poetical title of *Shākir*, and the other with *Āṣaf* as *nom de plume* have been published, and from both the volumes, the Nawāb's indebtedness to Bedil is manifest. Bedil has a famous line<sup>8</sup> :

بیدل بودم هزار دل گر دیدم

[I was without a heart and now I have a thousand]

and the Nawāb says<sup>9</sup> :

بکدل هزار دل شده از گریه هائی با

[By my weeping one heart broke into a thousand pieces.]

There is also a ghazal<sup>10</sup> in which a line of Bedil has been inserted in his way :

بیدل صاحب دل شاگرد پنهان خوش فرموده است  
هرچه لیل و لعل گویدم باید ز محفل بشنوم

1. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 367.

2. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 149; Iftikhār, 'Abdul Wahhāb, *Tazkirat-e-Benāzīr*, p. 39.

3. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 43.

4. *Kīmīyā e Sa'ādāt* by All-Chazzālī, and *Nafhāt* by Jāmī.

5. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, pp. 128, 136.

6. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 149; Iftikhār, *Tazkirat-e-Benāzīr*, p. 39.

7. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 366; *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, p. 5.

8. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, p. 5.

9. *Shākir*, Dīwān, I, p. 15.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 312-3.

[Shākir ! What a superb saying has Bedil—the noble-hearted,  
 "Whatever Layla says to me I should hear from the latter"]

In the end I give below two opening verses of the ghazals of both the poets.

Bedil<sup>1</sup>,

کہ ز موئی میان شہرت دھند نازک خیالی را  
 کہے از چین ابرو سکتہ خواندیت عالی را

[At times by his hair-like thin waist the beloved gives publicity to subtle conceit,

And sometimes by the wrinkles of her brow she points to a pause even in a sublime verse]

Āṣaf<sup>2</sup> :

نگہ می فروشش پر کمد مینائی خالی را  
 رخسار خوی تری بخشد بہار درنگانی را

[Her tipsy looks fill an empty goblet with wine ; and  
 Her face by its sweat lends freshness to the flowers of the rainy season.]

The rhyme and the metre of these two ghazals speak for themselves.

2. *Nawāb Sa'adatullah Khān*<sup>3</sup> in his *Gulshan-e-Sa'adat*<sup>4</sup> is seen requesting Bedil for a gift of his *Tulism-e-Hairat*, *Mahit-e-A'zam* and his *Biyāze Khāṣ* (Anthology). The *Biyāze* (Anthology) has been ably described by Rieu<sup>5</sup> and contains choice poems by a vast number of poets. The Nawāb's letter to Bedil for the gift is a proof of the fact that our poet's works were studied eagerly by the scholars of those days.

3. *Mir 'Abdus Samad Sakḥun*. We already know the Mir got his *Takhalluṣ* from Bedil. One day<sup>6</sup> Sakḥun offered a Burī Ḥinṛ-digger to Bedil, who, being pleased with it, gave two amṛaband verses to Sakḥun. As he lived with the Amīrs of low standing and therefore, lived from hand to mouth, one day he read the following couplet complaining about his bad luck :

بلاطون گر بید می شود عاجز بہ تدبیرم  
 کہ سبب آتشی داغی شد و جاگیر جان گیرم

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*

2. *Āṣaf, Diwān*, p. 6

3. The Nawāb was a noble at the court of Aurangzeb. See *Shāhnawāz Khān, Ma'āṣirul Umārā*, II, p. 513.

4. Sa'adatullah Khān, *Gulshan-e-Sa'adat*, Ms., Punjab University Library

5. Rieu, *Catalogue of the British Museum Arabic and Persian Ms.* under Nos 16902-03

6. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif* July 1947 p. 4

[Even if Plato himself came, he would not be able to cure me.

• My manṣab is a fiery brand and my Jāgīr robs me of life.]  
On hearing the couplet, Bedil immediately changed the word آتشیں (syphilis). Sakhan was a pupil<sup>1</sup> of Bedil, and, from a letter<sup>2</sup> of Bedil, we learn that Sakhan sent his verses to Bedil, who was very much pleased and prayed :

رتگیشی بہار سخن لایزال باد

[May the bloom of your verse be eternal!]

4. *Lāla Shīr Rām Hayā*<sup>3</sup> (d. 1144/1731) was a pupil of Bedil and wrote his *Gulgasht-e-Iram* in the style of Bedil's *Ghchār 'Unsur*.

5. *Lala Sukh Rāj Sabqat*<sup>4</sup> (d. 1138/1725) was the ablest of Bedil's Hindu pupils. He left a Diwān having 10,000 verses, which was destroyed. Once he wrote the following quatrain about the birth of Bedil and showed it to him :

آن ذات ابد قدرت تشریفہ مقام      عبد القادر نمود تشبہش نام  
شد ز نیاہ یکی بہر مسیحائی دین      آمد دگر اکثرون پئی احیائی کلام

[That Eternal Essence free from any mixture,  
Gave its similitude the name of 'Abdul Qādir.  
One was born to give new life to the Faith, and  
The second now came for the Renaissance of verse.]

6 *Muhammad 'Aṭā Ullah 'Alā*<sup>5</sup> (d. 1136/1723)<sup>6</sup> a pupil of Bedil who belonged to Murādābād. 'Aṭā Ullah was a great humourist and whenever he came, Bedil used to speak of his facetiae instead of his usual monotheistic verses. Bedil would say that 'Aṭā deserved to be instructed in facetious verses. Once Bedil granted him his own inkstand and his Byāz. At this 'Aṭā composed the following Rubā'ī thanking Bedil :

بدل شہ اتلیم کمال ہر فن      از گوشہ چشم تا نظر داشت من  
از روئی عنایت قلمدان و بیاض      نمود مرا وزرت ملک سخن

[Bedil, the sovereign ruler of the realm of the perfection of every art,

Regarded me with affection, and  
He, therefore, granted to me his inkstand and *Biyaṣ*.  
It means he made over to me the portfolio of verse.]

1. *Ruq'ār-e-Bedil*, p. 78

2. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 48; Springer, I, p. 121; Ali, Hasan Khān, *Subh-e-Gulshan*, p. 144; Husain Quli Khān, *Nisbat-e-'Ishq*, I, Ms., F. 159

3. 'Ali Hasan Khān, *Subh-e-Gulshan*, p. 199; Springer, Vol. I, p. 123

4. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, pp. 47-48; 'Ali Hasan Khān, *Subh-e-Gulshan*, p. 197; Siddiq Hasan, *Roz-e-Raushan*, p. 29, Husain Quli Khān, *Nisbat-e-'Ishq*, I, Ms. F. 232

5. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, pp. 45-47; Springer, I, p. 126; 'Ali Hasan Khān, *Subh-e-Gulshan*, p. 287

7. *Bindra Ban Dās Khushgū*<sup>1</sup>. On the authority of the author of *Maṭā'atush Shu'arā*, Springer writes that *Khushgū* too was a pupil of Bedil. *Khushgū* himself says that from his early life he came in contact with Bedil and learnt from him the contents of pamphlets on Prosody and on Riddles, and also several *Diwāns* of Tāzād Poets. As both of them were of the same age, Bedil observed no formalities with *Khushgū*. It is from the *Safina-e-Khushgū*<sup>2</sup> that many details about the life of Bedil are known. *Khushgū* says that he saw Bedil more than a thousand times in his life, and towards the end of Bedil's life he saw him almost daily.

8. *Barkhardār Beg Fardī*<sup>3</sup> (d. 1119/1707), a poet and a pupil of Bedil.

9. *Mir Muhammad Aḥsan Ijād*<sup>4</sup> (d. 1133/1720) got his *Takhtalluṣ* from Bedil and was also recommended by Bedil to Husain Qull Khān.

10. *Gur Bakhsa Hazūri*<sup>5</sup> had meetings with Bedil for many years and thus attained perfection in versification.

11. *Mughlī Khān Qābī*<sup>6</sup> (d. 1142/1729) was a pupil of Bedil. In the beginning his *Takhtalluṣ* was *Sam'at* but changed it at the instance of Bedil.

12. *Shāh Sa'dullah Gulshan*<sup>7</sup> (d. 1141/1728), was in the beginning a pupil of *Sarkhush*, but on discovering a spiritual affinity with Bedil, he entered into the literary society of the latter. Both of them were *ṣūfī* poets and both loved music. Bedil suggested to *Shāh Sa'dullah* that he should have *Gulshan* as his poetical name in conformity with *Shāh Gul*, the name of his spiritual director.

13. *Maṭā'atush Shu'arā*, he has been mentioned as one of the pupils of Bedil.

14. *Khawāja 'Abdullah Sāqī*<sup>8</sup> was a friend of Bedil.

15. *Aqā Ibrāhīm Faizān*<sup>9</sup>, son of *Aqā Muhammad Husain Khān*, often arranged poetical meetings at his house and invited

1. Springer, I, p. 153. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 48.

2. Manuscript copy of the second volume of the *Safina* of *Khushgū* exists in the Banpur Library. From that copy Qāfī 'Abdul Wudud of Patna has sifted out all the details relating to Bedil and got them published in *Ma'ārif* for May and July, 1942.

3. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 47.

4. *Ruqq'at-e-Bedil*, p. 118. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 45. *Azād Bilgrāmī*, *Kharāna-e-'Amra*, p. 20.

5. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 45; *Siddiq Hama*, *Roz-e-Razān*, p. 1.

6. *Khushgū* in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942 p. 48. 'Alī Husain Khān, *Sabḥ-e-Gulshan*, p. 1.

7. *Sarkhush*, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 96; *Azād Bilgrāmī*, *Sarā-e-Azād*, p. 19; Springer, I, 128, 153. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 47.

8. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 45.

9. *Ibid.*



Bedil Khushgū says that he derived much benefit from those meetings.

15 Mir Muḥammad Zanān Bānkhī (d. 1107/1695) had intimate social relations with Bedil and entered into friendly competition with him in writing poetry.

16 Īzād Bakḥsh Rasā<sup>2</sup> (d. 1119/1704), a pupil of 'Abdul 'Azīz 'Izzat and a convert from Shī'ism. He adopted *Sunni* as his *Takhaluṣ*, but, in view of his tall stature, Bedil suggested Rasā. The poet accepted the title as soon as he heard it from Bedil stood up, and bowed respectfully. He used to send his *ghazals* to Bedil for correction.

At several places in his *Ruqṣ'āt*,<sup>3</sup> Īzād Bakḥsh Rasā has made references about Bedil. At one place he writes<sup>4</sup> to Prince A'zam Shāh :

پیدل همه دل را دیدم و از دلش پریدم آخر شهر رمضان یا اول شوال  
آنجا می رسد

[I saw Bedil who is all heart and made enquiries about his intentions. Towards the end of the month of Ramazān or in the beginning of Shawwāl he will reach there.]

In another<sup>5</sup> letter he writes to the same prince :

انشاء الله العزيز عبيد قدور بيدل كه سراپا دل است عنتره ب ملازمت سعادت  
نمودد

[God wishing, Mīrzā 'Abdul Qādir Bedil, who is all heart, will very soon make himself fortunate by entering your service.]

It appears that these letters were written when Bedil had not yet joined the army. We also learn from these quotations that Rasā was very much influenced by the spirit which actuated Bedil. Another statement<sup>6</sup> made by Rasā shows that both the poets were fast friends. At one time Bedil, Rasā, one Mīrzā Muḥammad Ib-āhīm, and another Khwāja Habībullah were living together in a serai (inn) when some armed soldiers began to fight amongst themselves. Bedil, Rasā and their two other mates rushed to the scene and Rasā was wounded in the side by a stray arrow. I have not been able to

1 Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mīr'at-ul Khayāl*, p. 306; Khushgū in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 44; Siddiq Hasan, *Sham'-e-Arjuman*, p. 174.

2 Khushgū in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 44; *Ruqṣ'āt-e-Bedil*, pp. 4, 46.

3 Rasā, Īzād Bakḥsh, *Ruqṣ'āt*, Punjab University Library, Ms. No. 3957.

4 Ibid., F. 7 a.

5 Rasā, Īzād Bakḥsh, *Ruqṣ'āt*, Punjab University Library Ms. No. 3957, F. 7 b.

6 Ibid., No. 3957, F. 41 a.

determine the date and place of this happening. Still, from this statement of Rasā we conclude that both the poets were intimate friends and associates.

17. *Muḥammad Amin 'Irānī* was a manṣabdār and a pupil of Bedil. On his return from Baralt, B-dil sent his *Mansūf-i-Tūre-Mansūf* to 'Irān as a present brought from a distant place.

18. *Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Dīqā* was a pupil of Bedil.

19. *Shir Khan Lodhī*,<sup>4</sup> had meetings with B-dil which have been mentioned in *Mi'ratul Khayāl*.

20. *Mirzā 'Ibādullah*<sup>5</sup> was a cousin of Bedil through maternal uncle and was older in age. He was a poet and a couplet by him has been given by *Khushnū* :

برنگی درخت بلبل چشم بر گل      که شد پیراهن گل چشم بلبل

[In such a way did the nightingale sew its eye on the flower,  
That the eye of nightingale became the garment of flower.]

In his letters B-dil addresses Mirzā 'Ibādullah as his brother. Mirzā 'Ibādullah used to send Lu Ghazāl to B-dil who was always anxiously awaiting letters from his cousin. Bedil sent his *Tūre-Mansūf* to Mirzā 'Ibādullah also.

21. *Rasūl Aḥsan Bāzī*,<sup>6</sup> the celebrated writer of *Hamla-e-Haidarī* having 99,000 verses, in the mode of *Shāh-Jān* of Firdausī, and in praise of the Prophet and his cousin and son-in-law 'Alī. Bāzī was a friend of Bedil. In a letter Bedil recommended one Mīr Muḥammad and his friends to Bāzī when he was the Governor of Baralt.

22. *'Ashiq Muḥammad*<sup>7</sup> met Bedil in Is'fābād (Māhubra). Bedil calls him the Embellisher of Nature (چمن طرز نظرت) and recommends to one Khān Bahādur Mīrān Lāl Muḥammad, a relative of Nawab Shukrullah Khān, and says that *Hammat* had written a nice *Qasīda*, in the style of *Tālib Amīl*—the poet-laureate of Jahāngīr.

1. Rasā says that the fight took place on the 7th of the Safar, but does not mention the year. At folio 40-a he says that on the 9th of the same Safar Aurangzeb allowed Prince Aḥsan Shāh to make requests in the Daroār with the Bakhshī. At folio 41-a a letter is dated Ḥasan Abdālī, the 21st Rajab 1086 A.H. Now we know Aurangzeb was in Ḥasan Abdālī in 1085 A.H. (vide *Shāhī*, *Muntahā Khir*, *As-sir-e-Munir* and Bedil too left Dehli, in 1085 A.H., for Lahore, and from there proceeded to Ḥasan Abdālī.

2. 'Abdul Jabbar Khān *Taẓkira-e-Maḥmūdīn Zamān*, II, p. 1014.

3. 'Alī Ḥasan Khān, *Subh-e-Gulshad*, p. 34; Springer, I, p. 118; Sarkar, *Kalimatul Shuharā*, p. 8. *Khushnū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 42.

4. *Shir Khan Lodhī*, *Mirā'at al-Khayāl*, p. 391.

5. *Rasūl-e-Bedil*, pp. 23, 28, 43, 59; Qadrullah Qāsim, *Majmū'a-e-Nuḡā*, I, p. 179, *Khushnū*, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 373.

6. *Rasūl-e-Bedil*, p. 59; Sarkar, *Kalimatul Shuharā*, p. 10; Azād Bilgramī, *Sar-e-Aḥ*, p. 41.

7. *Rasūl-e-Bedil*, pp. 53-82; Sarkar, *Kalimatul Shuharā*, pp. 125; Azād Bilgramī, *Sar-e-Aḥ*, p. 44.

23. *Mawlā Afsham al-Said* *Ṭijz al-ʿArabīyīn* (d. 1117/1705) was a pupil of Shākh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ʿIzzat and had meetings with Bedil and other poets of his day. *Ṭijz* used to write *ghazals* imitating the metre and rhyme of the *ghazals* of those poets.

24. *Ḥusain Qul* *Ḥāṣṣ al-ʿArabīyīn*, was a poet who used to send his *ghazals* to Bedil for correction. He was a friend of Bedil and, when he was in the Deccan, Bedil paid for a meeting with him. Bedil, therefore, was much pleased on the Nawāb's return to Akbarābād. Once Bedil sent his works to the Nawāb, and at another time praised him for his success in copying his (Bedil's) style. But as the Nawāb's language was not so elegant on occasions Bedil advised him to study his (Bedil's) prose and verse regularly to acquire the desired elegance of expression. The *Diwān* of the Nawāb was with Bedil and a few verses which the Nawāb had sent for correction were included in it. Bedil, after having gone through the *Diwān* completely, asked the Nawāb to give it to the scribe for transcription.

25. Last but not the least, I would mention Wālī Deccanī who has been regarded as the Father of Urdu verse. He paid a visit to Dehli in 1112 A.H. (1700 A.D.) and recited his Urdu *ghazals* there. It has not been recorded by any Taḥṣīl-writer that Wālī saw Bedil, but it is a fact that Wālī was much influenced<sup>1</sup> by Saʿdullah Gulshan, a close friend of Bedil, and he, therefore, must have at least known Wālī. The author of *Tūḥ-e-Kālm* says that, when in 1133 A.H. (1720 A.D.) Wālī's Urdu *Diwān* reached Dehli, poets like Mir Muḥsin Mawlā Khān Firāt, Mirzā ʿAbd al-Qādir Bedil, and Mirzā ʿAbd al-Qādir Beg Qabūl imitated<sup>2</sup> it. This assertion appears to be based on conjecture, for Bedil was in Lahore from 1131 to 1133 A.H., and returned to Dehli in Muḥarram 1133 A.H., only to die a few days later. It is, therefore, obvious that Bedil found no time to imitate Wālī in 1133 A.H. In my opinion, the arrival of Wālī himself in Dehli and the common<sup>3</sup> trend of the poets of those days to compose verses in Urdu occasionally, induced Bedil to write a few couplets in Urdu also. Hence the earliest Taḥṣīl-writers of Urdu gave the following three

1. Saʿdullah, *Kālmāt-e-Ṭijz* p. 6. *Ḥusain Qul* *Ḥāṣṣ al-ʿArabīyīn*, *Ḥusain Qul* *Ḥāṣṣ al-ʿArabīyīn*, p. 121b.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, pp. 94, 104, 111, 117, 118, 120. *Maʿāyir-e-Umūr*, p. 121. *Ḥusain Qul* *Ḥāṣṣ al-ʿArabīyīn*, *Ḥusain Qul* *Ḥāṣṣ al-ʿArabīyīn*, or any other contemporary story Book makes no mention of *Ḥusain Qul* *Ḥāṣṣ al-ʿArabīyīn*.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Wālī*, 12, Preface.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Nur al-Ḥisār*, *Tūḥ-e-Kālm*, p. 3.

6. Mir Jaʿfar Zafar (Anand Rām Mawlā), *Ḥikmat al-ʿArabīyīn*, Nawāb Amir al-Khān A. L. N. Shāh-e-Faṭṭāh Afshar and other friends and pupils of Bedil composed verses in Urdu. It may be noted that Zafar's was killed in the beginning of the

couplets by Bedil :

شہرہ حسن سے از بسکہ وہ معجوب ہوا  
اپنے چہرہ سے جھکرتا ہے کہ کیوں خوب ہوا

مت بوجہ دل کی باتیں وہ دل کہاں ہے ہم ہیں  
اے تخم بے نشاں کا حاصل کہاں ہے ہم ہیں  
جب دل کے آمدن پر عشق آن کر پکارا  
پردے سے راز بولا بیدل کہاں ہے ہم ہیں

[The beloved fights shy on account of the fame of her beauty  
She is angry with her face, why it is so lovely

Don't make queries about the heart. Not that, but I myself  
am here.

That untraceable seed has no fruit. Only I am here.

When Love called out at the altar of heart,

The Beloved cried out of the veil, 'Not Bedil, but I am  
here']

From what we have so far said about Bedil's stay in Delhi, one can easily learn how he was leading his life there. Still there are other details which must be known to form a clearer picture of his life in the capital. We are indebted for them to Khushgū,<sup>2</sup> to Sayyid Muhammad,<sup>3</sup> son of Mir 'Abdul Jalil Wāsiḡ (who, with his father, had meetings with Bedil), and to Bedil\* himself.

Bedil usually remained indoors for the whole of the day composing verses and studying books. In the evening he used to come out in his *Diwān Khāna* (Drawing Room), where his pupils, his friends, and other visitors gathered round him. The meetings always continued till midnight, and Bedil used to relate significant anecdotes and worthwhile experiences in those meetings. In the course of such like talks he would say, "Let us now commence the praises of God." He would then take his *Kulliyat* which had four hemustiches in one line,

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reign of Farrukh Siyar when the *Diwān of Wālī* had not yet arrived in Delhi. See 'Alī Luṡf, *Gulshan-e-Hind*, p. 30; Gardizi, Fateh 'Alī Ḥusaini, *Taḡkira-e-Rakata Goyān*, p. 2; Mir, *Nikāṡush Shu'arā*, pp. 4, 5, 9, 32.

1. Mir Ḥazar, *Taḡkira-e-Shu'arā-e-Uḡda*, p. 59. Mir Taqī Mir, *Nikāṡush Shu'arā*, pp. 2, 3. Qāṡira, Qudratullah, *Muḡhawn-e-Nikāṡ*, p. 13. Shafiq, *Lachhmi Nāṡin* *Shu'manistān-e-Shu'arā*, p. 44. ṡafīr Bilgrāmī, *Taḡkira-e-Jalwa-e-Khijr*, p. 90. ṡafīr Bilgrāmī says that he copied the first and the third couplets from a *Buyāṡ* of Sayyid Mūṡa Kāḡim Bilgrāmī written 100 years before the date (1302 A.H., of the composition of the *Jalwa-e-Khijr*.

2. Khushgū, in *Mā Arīf*, May 1946, pp. 364, 365.

3. Muhammad, Sayyid, *Taḡkiratun Nāṡirīn*, in *Jalwa-e-Khijr*, p. 97.

4. *Ruṡṡāṡ-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, pp. 59, 60.

and would recite his verses. In the course of the recitations, all those present were addressed one by one. Although, ordinarily, he spoke very low, separating out word from the other, he recited poetry in a pronounced and majestic tone, which was burdensome for the audience, and was audible even in the street. Khushgū, of his own sweet will, wrote *Malfūz*, in which he recorded what transpired in those informal but highly instructive meetings. Bedil had a servant named *Mazmūn* about whom Khushgū wrote :

بدل کہ تخت گہ فصاحت مقام اوست      معنی کیز او شد و مصمون غلام اوست

[Bedil, who sits on the throne of eloquence,

Has idea as his maid-servant, and meaning (مضمون) as his slave.]

Bedil used to ask *Mazmūn* to prepare the *Huqqa* for smoking and, whenever he gave an order, he spoke in a commanding tone, and knocked at the door although the servant was at hand.

Bedil was very particular about taking exercise. The number of his daily *bars* (sit stand) reached four and often five thousand. While wrestling he used to pick up his rivals with his hands and then throw them down. As no man proved a match for him, he kept a strong horse with which he used to grapple on a high mound. Once Bedil was inclined towards a barber's son who, by chance, displayed undesirable behaviour. Bedil slapped him and the poor boy died instantaneously. On another occasion, Bedil's foot slipped. To keep himself erect, he suddenly took his hands to a wall which tumbled down. This shows he had the strength of a giant. The staff, which he carried in his hands, weighed thirty-five seers and he had named it *Bulas*, which means a slender twig. One day he came out of his house with this 'slender twig' in hand. Shakh Kabir, who was one of Bedil's friends and who had been visiting him continuously for years, began to talk about it. Bedil said immediately in praise of his staff :

منت الانبياء - زيت الصالحاء - موئس الاعمال - بمد القبياء - دفع الاعداء

[The tradition of the prophet; the ornament of the pious; the companion of the blind; the helper of the weak; and the terror for the enemies.]

He also added that to drive away the enemy one must have a strong staff.

Bedil was a voracious eater and in his youth he could eat seven or eight seers of food. In his old age too, he ate two or three seers, which Khushgū saw with his own eyes. Khushgū says that when Bedil was young he tasted the forbidden drink, but in old age it did not suit his temperament. In *Chatar 'Unsur* Bedil himself has described how he participated in a convivial meeting. Again, in *Chatar 'Unsur*

which is a book of confessions too), Bedil says that when he saw Shāh-e Qāsim, in a dream in Akbarābād, he handled the flask of wine very reluctantly. This shows that his conscience then had so much abhorrence for wine that, even in his dreams, he would not touch it. Khushgū makes another assertion too. He says that Bedil, in his old age, used Hashish-water during summer and called it *Maujī*, and replaced it by *Aujī*, during winter, which was an electuary of Hashish. Khushgū supports himself by the following couplet of Bedil:

شادم که نظرم نیست تریاکش نین و می که می فروشم بگ است و گاه است

[It is gratifying that I am not a regular opium-eater.

I have only fancy for *Bhang* (Hashish), and that too now and then.]

As Khushgū was a constant visitor of Bedil, we cannot declare his statements about intoxicants to be altogether wrong. This, too, has been stated by Khushgū that Bedil used slaked<sup>2</sup> red-orpiment (کشته زریخ).

There is still another phase of Bedil's life which needs some comments. At this time of his life, besides his wife (or four wives as Khushgū, says) Bedil's living relatives,<sup>3</sup> who are known to us were: Mīrzā 'Ibādullah, Mīrzā Rūḡullah, and Mīrzā Muḥammad Sa'id. Mīrzā 'Ibādullah was a cousin from a maternal uncle, and as in a letter both Mīrzā 'Ibādullah and Mīrzā Rūḡullah have been addressed by Bedil as brothers, the latter also must have been similarly a cousin of Bedil. As regards Mīrzā Muḥammad Sa'id, he was the son of Mīrzā 'Ibādullah and, therefore, the nephew of Bedil. From among the descendants of Mīrzā 'Ibādullah the author of *Majmū'a-e Naghiz*, gives the names of two persons<sup>4</sup> Hakīm Fazlullah, a poet and Hakīm Muḥammad Hafiz Khān of Panipat. Beyond this, nothing is known about the relatives of Bedil.

1. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 363

2. *Ibid.*, p. 362

3. *Ibid.* Dargāh Qulī Khān, *Muragga'-e-Dahli*, pp. 10-1. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, pp. 23, 52. Qudratullah Qāsim, *Majmū'a-e Naghiz*, p. 179. Khushgū says that Mīrzā 'Iṣṣullah was a son of Bedil, and Mīrzā Muḥammad Sa'id was a son of Mīrzā 'Ibādullah. Bedil has twice addressed Mīrzā 'Ibādullah as a brother, and, from the language used, we learn he was older than Bedil. The author of *Majmū'a-e Naghiz* says that Mīrzā 'Ibādullah was the elder brother of Bedil. And Dargāh Qulī Khān says that Mīrzā Muḥammad Sa'id was a nephew of Bedil. When everything put together, we conclude that Mīrzā 'Ibādullah was a خو (cousin) of Bedil, and, in the *Safina-e-Khushgū* the scribe has erroneously written the word خال.

4. Qudratullah Qāsim, *Majmū'a-e Naghiz*, p. 119

Having learnt about the daily routine and private life of Bedil, we should proceed further. In 1115 A.H. (1704-05 A.D.), Bedil finished his *Chakār 'Uṣṣar* which he had been writing since 1095 A.H. (1683-84 A.D.) This book is a dependable source for Bedil's life till 1100 A.H. (1683-89 A.D.) and beyond this we have to rely on different *Taḳrīrs*, Bedil's *Ruqṣ'at* and *Qutbī* and other contemporary History Books.

In 1118 A.H. (1707 A.D.), there was again a great upheaval in Hindustān. The Great Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr died<sup>2</sup> at Ahmaḍnagar, in the Deccan, after a long reign of about fifty years, and at the climax of his power. A bloody war of succession soon ensued. Muḥammad Mu'azzam Bahādur Shāh, the second<sup>3</sup> son of Aurangzeb, was ultimately victorious. A'zam Shāh and Kām Bakshī, the other two<sup>4</sup> living sons of Aurangzeb, were defeated<sup>5</sup> one after the other in battles. At one time, during the War of Succession, when Shukrullah Khān II, Shākir Khān, and Karamullah 'Aḥḍ Khān, all the three sons of Nawab Shukrullah Khān I, were arrayed in Akbarābād against A'zam Shāh, Bedil was very much perturbed<sup>6</sup> on their account; and when they were victorious, naturally he heaved a sigh of relief. But Bedil was very much grieved<sup>7</sup> at the sad death of A'zam Shāh and his son Bedār Bakht, in the battlefield of Jajau. The accession of Bahādur Shāh was, however, greeted<sup>8</sup> by Bedil in four chronograms, one of them being: *مستم تو جهان*.

In 1120 A.H., to the utmost joy of Bedil, he was blessed with a son<sup>10</sup> on the 1st of Rajab (Sept. 16, 1708), and on the night preceding Friday. The boy was named 'Abdul Khānuq. This happy occasion was

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil Chakār 'Uṣṣar*. The chronogram is:

دو تاریخ از عساکر آورد هر دو  
نخست آفرینی ز اعجاز پرداخت  
که از افراد هر عنصر فنا رفت  
که داخل شبه خون گشت و خفا رفت  
دوم در اجتماع چار عنصر  
نحوست بود چون رنگ از صفا رفت

The numerical value of *عصر* and *بیا* is 410 and 131 respectively. Subtract 131 from 410 and multiply the result by 4. We get 1116. Again, the total value of *چار* is 1640 (410 x 4). Subtract from it 544, the value of *نحوست*, and 1116 is the result. See Qāṣi, 'Abdullah Khān, *Adabāt*, p. 174.

2. Sāḍī, *Ma'ān-e-'Ālamgīr*, p. 541.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 534.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 556, 535.

5. *Khān Khān, Maḥṣabāt Lubāb*, II, pp. 590, 621, 622.

6. *Ruqṣ'at-e-Bedil*, p. 112.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 107-08.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 107-08.

10. *Khān Khān, in Ma'ān*, May 1942, p. 365.

celebrated<sup>1</sup> with festivities and rejoicings and alms were liberal distributed to the poor. Bedil found out various chronograms,<sup>2</sup> and wrote letters of congratulations<sup>3</sup> to friends. In those days Nawā. S. Akbarah Khān II had gone away<sup>4</sup> to the Deccan to subdue Prince Kān Bahān. The birth of his son had so much pleased Bedil that he communicated the happy news to the Nawāb in that distant country.

Bedil continued to add to his fame and popularity during the reign of Bahādur Shāh as well. The Emperor ordered<sup>5</sup> Mirza Khān Khānī, his Minister, on many occasions to request Bedil for writing *Shih-nama* of the Mughal Dynasty. Mirza Khān had known Bedil since a long time, and, therefore, made the request some five or six times in writing, but Mirza Bedil refused. The final reply of the poet was very stern and determined. He said, 'If the Emperor insists, I am a Faqir, I cannot quarrel with him. I will leave his kingdom, and shall proceed to Malaya (Malakka).'

The Emperor conferred the title of Khān Daurān Bahādur<sup>6</sup> on Chāh Qil Khān in 1119 A.H. (1703 A.D.) and appointed him the Subedar of Outh. Bedil, therefore, could now see him very often as he had come to stay nearer. Bedil wrote a magnificent Qasida in praise of Khān Daurān<sup>7</sup> beginning with this verse:

بلکہ عینست من تازد به دور شوکت و شائش  
یا تا وا نمایم قندار خان دورش

[It is a long time since Destiny has been feeling proud about his dignity and splendour.

Come so that I may disclose the power of Khān Daurān.]

As the title of Khān Daurān was conferred in 1119 A.H., this panegyric was composed when Bedil was over sixty-two years of age. This fact shows that Bedil continued his creative activities unabated in spite of his old age. When in 1124 A.H. (1712-13 A.D.) Chāh Qil, Khān's father,

1. Khān Daurān in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 355.

2. *Khān Daurān* in *Shih-nama* of Chāh Qil, p. 62. *Kalimat-e-Bedil*, Mirza Khān Khānī, Khān Daurān, *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 355. The chronogram are:

آدمه اول سرور - مقول فضل یزدی - ذاب حیا - بی من برگ  
بلکہ جاء عظیم - مرحوش شرب زلی - ذات واحد - من ظنور - آیه لوض قدس -  
الحب لله

The last two remind us of the chronograms *تحت وین قلم* and *تحت وین قلم* giving the date of birth of Bedil himself.

3. *Rasā'id-e-Bedil*, p. 126.

4. Khān Khānī, *Muntakhabat Lubāb*, II, pp. 631, 632. Khān Bahādur was defeated in Haidarābād on 3rd Zulq'ada 1120 A.H. (January 14, 1709) and he succumbed to the wounds.

5. Khān Khānī in *Ma'arif*, July 1942.

6. Khān Khānī, *Muntakhabat Lubāb*, II, p. 632. Yūsuf Husain, *Asghar-e-Mulk*, *Asghar-e-Mulk*, p. 1.

7. *Kalimat-e-Bedil*, Shih-nama of Chāh Qil, p. 62.



Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Bahādur, died,<sup>1</sup> Bedī wrote a Qita<sup>2</sup> having the chronogram :

شاه یز عرش پرو ز آه ازو

[The falcon, which could fly to the Empyrean,  
We are sad for him.]

In this very year Chān Qhāj Khān was made Nizām-ul Mulk Bahādur Fatch Jang. His mansab was raised to 7,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry. He has been addressed by Bedī in letters as Khān Daurān<sup>3</sup> and also as Nizām-ul Mulk.<sup>4</sup>

One day in the house<sup>5</sup> of Nizām-ul Mulk, when perhaps he had retired<sup>6</sup> from life on account of the supremacy of Nawāb Zulfiqār Khān in state affairs, Bedī found himself in a strange predicament. Muḥammad Amīn Khān, who later on became famous for arranging the murder of Husain 'Alī Khān Dāra, came in and saw a faqīr sitting with beard and moustaches entirely shaved. He enquired, "Who is this?" "Mīrzā Bedī," the Nawāb replied. Muḥammad Amīn Khān remarked, "Do you call this man a saint who shaves his beard?" At this Mīrzā Bedī warmed up and said, "I shave my own beard and do not scratch anybody's heart." Being inflamed, the Khān at once took his hand to his dagger. Bedī, who was a Hercules in strength, challenged the Khān with clenched fists. The Nawāb, however, intervened and saved the situation.

Bedī's relations with the sons of Nawāb Shukrallāh also continued as sincere as ever. He wrote them letters and congratulated<sup>7</sup> them on their victories. Once he addressed the three brothers in one letter beginning with the following verses<sup>8</sup> of immortal value.

شکر اسروز در بهار رفاق رنگ و برو شکفتی بهم اند  
ی خدا فصل کن که این گها همه لطف و عنایت و کرم اند

[Thank God that today, in the spring of concord,

Colour, smell, and freshness are found together.

O God, show graciousness as these flowers

Are all *Lutf* (kindness), *Ināyat* (favour), and *Karam*  
(generosity) ]

1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-Āmirā*, p. 35.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedī*, Ms. Kitāb Khāna-e-Mi'āris, Kābul, f. 1063.

3. *Raqq'āt-e-Bedī*, p. 123.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 131, 133, 134, 136.

5. Husain Dost, *Tazkirat-e-Husaini*, p. 75. Qāsim, Qudratullah, *Majmū'a-e-Āzād*, p. 117.

6. Yusuf Husain, *Nizām-ul Mulk Āraf Jah*, p. 51. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-Āmirā*, p. 35.

7. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedī*, Safdarī Edition, Qita 21, p. 45.

8. *Raqq'āt-e-Bedī*, p. 74.

As the children of the family had grown intimate with Bedil, whenever Bedil took up pen and paper for writing something and Mir Mubarakullah, son of Mir Shākir Khān, was seated near, so soon as the boy would snatch away the paper, at which Bedil's heart was filled with pleasure. When he was away, Bedil felt his absence and the boy's endearing ways were brought to his mind. At the time Mir Karamullah was in straitened circumstances,<sup>2</sup> and Bedil gave him 200 gold coins, which had been presented to him by Niwāb Zūlfiqār Khān. When in 1124 A.H. (1712 A.D.), Mir Karamullah Khān died,<sup>3</sup> Bedil was extremely bereaved and he kept weeping for a long time. Mir Karamullah Khān, we know, was a pupil of Bedil and wrote verse in Bedil's style. The Mir left a Diwān. Bedil once remarked<sup>4</sup> that Mir Karamullah had excelled him in writing poetry.

Now I give below, again one by one, the names of those poets who came in contact with Bedil during the reign of Bahādar Shāh.

1. *Ni'mat Khān 'Alī* (d. 1123/1711), the famous satirist of those times. Whenever 'Alī's name was mentioned by Bedil, he invariably said حاجی هجوی (Hājī, the satirist).

2. *Shaykh Husain Shuhrat*<sup>5</sup> (d. 1143/1736) was a friend of Bedil, and was known to him since the time when both of them were together in the service of A'zam Shāh. Shuhrat used to compete with Bedil in conversation.

3. *Hājī Muḥammad Aslam Sāluz*<sup>6</sup> (d. 1119/1707) was a friend of Bedil and used to write verse with him when both of them were in the service of A'zam Shāh. Sāluz remained in the service of the Prince, and on his death arrived in Dehli and met Bedil. During the whole of his life Bedil never made a search for Diwān of any contemporary poet, but he arranged especially for Sāluz's Diwār, and kept it with him for a few days.

4. *Sayyid Ja'far Zafallī*, the famous ribald poet of Bedil's times. Zafallī was in the service of Prince Kām Bakhsh in the Deccan and was dismissed for writing obscene poetry about his master.<sup>7</sup> With the exception of Aurangzeb<sup>8</sup> and Bedil none escaped his

1. *Ruqq'at-e-Bedil*, p. 123.

2. *Kutubgū*, in *Ma'arif*, July 1942, p. 42.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, p. 43; *Āzād B. g'āzī, Sar-e-Āzād*, pp. 201-02.

7. *Kutubgū*, in *Ma'arif*, July 1942, p. 44; *Shamsh-e-Arjuman*, p. 24.

8. Zafallī, Mir Ja'far, *Kulliyāt-e-Zafallī*, pp. 29, 30. At page 24, he speaks about the reign of Bahādar Shāh.

9. Zafallī, *Kulliyāt* pp. 40, 43.

scurrilous remarks. One night Zafarī went to see Bedil with a *masnavi* in his praise. But as soon as Zafarī had recited the first hemistich :

چه عرقی چه فیضی به پیش تو بهش

[‘Urfī and Faizī are quite insignificant before you]

Bedil gave him two gold coins, and dismissed him saying, “Thank you. I am an ordinary Faqīr. Besides, I cannot bear such like remarks about master poets.” *Khushgū* and others requested Bedil to let Zafarī recite the next hemistich, so that it might be known how *بهش* was rhymed, but Bedil did not agree. On another occasion<sup>2</sup> Zafarī came to see Bedil when he was deeply absorbed in thought. Zafarī enquired what line had been composed. When Bedil told :

لاله بر سینہ داغ چون دارد

[Why has the tulip a scar at its breast ?]

Zafarī said, in his characteristic ribald way, “Why so much deep thought ? Say :

چونکی سبز زیر کون دارد

[As it has a small twig under its anus].”

5. *Mir ‘Aṣmatullah Bekhabar Bilgrāmī*<sup>3</sup> was a ṣūfī poet who frequently met Bedil. Once, as narrated by Bekhabar himself in his *Safina*, Bedil recited his mystical verses only so long as Bekhabar was with him. Bekhabar praises Bedil for his good manners, elegant taste, and his zeal for mysticism.

6. *Mir ‘Abdul Jalīl Wasī Bilgrāmī*,<sup>4</sup> a ṣūfī poet. He and his son Sayyid Muḥammad had meetings with Bedil. To this line of Bedil

روز سوار شمع کند اسپ چراغ پا

[The life of the rider is made miserable by the restive horse]

*Mir Wasī* applied this مصرع (first line) :

غره مشکوکه ابلق ایام رام تست

[Don't feel proud that the piebald horse of Time has been tamed by you]

On another occasion, when a talk was going on about the mysticism of Bedil, the *Mir* inserted Sa‘dī’s famous hemistich in his own verses :

|                          |                            |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| دی کسی گفت میرزا بیدل    | خوب گفت است در تصوف راز    |
| مصرعی در جواب خواند جلیل | بیدل از بی نشن چه گوید بار |

1. *Mir Taqī Mir, Nizātugh Shu‘arā*, p. 32 ; Qāim, Qāimad Dīn, *Makhzan-e-Nihāt*, p. 13 ; *Khushgū*, in *Ma‘ārif*, May 1942, p. 366

2. *Mir Hasan, Taḥkira-e-Shu‘arā*, p. 72.

3. *Ṣafīr Bilgrāmī, Taḥkira-e-Jalwa-e-Khīr*, p. 95, footnote ; *Azād Bilgrāmī, Sarw-e-Āzād*, 3.5 ; *Bekhabar, ‘Aṣmatullah, Safina-e-Bekhabar*, Ms. f

4. *Azād Bilgrāmī, Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 253 ; *Ṣafīr Bilgrāmī, Taḥkira-e-Jalwa-e-Khīr*, p. 97 ; ‘Askarī, Muḥammad, *Durarul Manṣūr*, Ms., f 33,

[Yesterday someone said that Bedil  
Has beautifully explained the secrets of mysticism  
Jalil received a hem-stitch in reply,  
"How can Bedil tell about the Inscrutable?"]

7. *Sayyid Ja'far Aḥḥāḥ* (d. 1154/1731) came to *Shāh Jahānābād* during the reign of *Shāh 'Ālam* and met Bedil.

8. *Ramīn* was a Hindu pupil of Bedil.

9. *'Umratāi Akbar Nawāb Anār Khān Arjūn* (d. 1159/1745) was one of the pupils of Bedil.

10. *Hāfiz Muḥammad Jamāl Taḥṣīl* (d. 1127/1713) was a pupil of Bedil and adopted the takhlis on his suggestion. He was seen with Bedil in the reign of *Shāh 'Ālam*. Bedil appreciated this couplet of *Talāsh* :

روز عید هر شاه و کدا گم می کند خود را  
تو رفتی بر سینه ناز و من از خویش تن راتم

11. *Mirzā Sa'ad Raḥīq* Bedil recommended him to *Muzā Na'im*, the *Bakhsh* of *Lalāpur Sāḥī*, and remarked that *Mirzā Shihāb Raḥīq* wrote elegant prose and fluent verse.

12. *Qayyūm Khān Fiddāi*,<sup>6</sup> son of *'Aqī Khān Rāzi*, was a poet and sent his verse for correction to Bedil.

13. *Mun'im Khān Mun'im*,<sup>7</sup> the prime minister of *Bahādur Shāh 'Ālam*, and the author of *Iḥdād-e-Mun'im*, *Mahdīfāt-e-Mun'im*, etc. He was a friend of Bedil. It was he who requested Bedil, on behalf of *Bahādur Shāh*, to write the *Shahrāma* of the *Mughals*.

With his old and new pupils, friends, and acquaintances, Bedil was enjoying life when his dearly loved son *'Abd al Khāliq*, who now walked holding his father's fingers in his hand, died on the morning of 9th of *Rabi' II* 1121 A.H. (May 13, 1711) at the age of 2 years, 9 months, and 8 days. *Khushgū* says that Bedil displayed unusual self-composure<sup>8</sup> at that time. With a perfectly composed state of mind, Bedil made arrangements for the burial of the dead body of his only son, and accompanied the bier up to the door. People came for condolence and wept bitterly, but he would silence them by saying, "Friends, how strange! It is my son who has died, why should you people weep?"

1. *Asad Ali Khān, Sarā-e-Aḥād*, 107; *Sadiq Hasan, Shams-e-Aḥsan*, 175.

2. *Safir Bīgāmi, Taḥṣīl-e-Jalwār-e-Bāḥir*, 97.

3. *'Alī Ḥasan Khān, Basm-e-Sarḥun*, 18; *Mun'im, 'Iqd-e-Mun'im*, 9; *Gardazi, Taḥṣīl-e-Rikhta Goyā*, 2.

4. *'Alī Ḥasan Khān, Sahā-e-Gulshān*, 90; *Khushgū*, in *Mas'rif*, July 1912, p. 46.

5. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 65.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 111.

7. *Khushgū*, in *Mas'rif*, July 1912, p. 42; *Chulām Ḥusayn Syārat Matarsh-khāna*, p. 8.

8. *Kaḥṣār-e-Bedil*, *Sillat Edition*, Q. 113, p. 82.

9. *Khushgū*, in *Mas'rif*, May 1912, pp. 356, 357.



1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a review of the literature on the effects of the 1997-1998 Asian financial crisis on the economies of the Asian countries. The second part of the paper is devoted to a review of the literature on the effects of the 1997-1998 Asian financial crisis on the economies of the Asian countries. The third part of the paper is devoted to a review of the literature on the effects of the 1997-1998 Asian financial crisis on the economies of the Asian countries.



APPROXIMATELY 1000 YARDS FROM THE EAST END OF THE  
 LAKESHORE, 500 YARDS FROM THE SOUTH  
 END OF THE LAKE, 1000 YARDS FROM THE  
 WEST END OF THE LAKE.

Although B-dil bore this grief with apparent tranquillity, the overpowering anguish, he felt on the occasion, can best be imagined by a perusal of the incomparable heart-rending elegy<sup>1</sup> which Bedil wrote on the death of his son. Only two بند (stanzas) out of the eighteen بند of the *سخن* are given here;<sup>2</sup>

هیبت چه برق پریشان رفت      کثوب قیامت بجان رفت  
گرتابی بود در توان رفت      ملقم ازین کمره خاکشنای رفت  
نازی بازی بر آسمان رفت  
هر که دو قدم خرام می کاشت      از انگشتم عصا بکف داشت  
بارب چه علم بو حشت افراشت      دست از دستم چگونہ برداشت  
بی من بد ره علم چسان رفت

[Alas! What lightning has struck.

The grief of the Doomsday has afflicted my soul.

Whatever strength I had, has gone.

My child has left this world.

In a playful manner he went to the skies.

Whenever he walked a few paces,

He held my finger like a staff in his hands for support.

O God! What a standard has been held aloft terribly.

Why did he take away his hand from my hands?

How without me did he make the journey to the next world.]

There was yet another cataclysm which shook the foundations of the Empire. On 19th Muḥarram, 1124 A.H. (February 27, 1712) *Ẓanādur Shāh*, the Emperor, died suddenly at Lahore and his son 'Alizzud Dīn Jahāndār Shāh succeeded to the Peacock Throne after killing his three brothers in battles near Lahore.<sup>3</sup> The enthronement

1. *Kulliyāt-e Bedil*, Ms., Kitāb Khāna-e-Ma'ārif, Kābul, f. 1038. *Ḥadiya-e-Ḥusnā*, pp. 24-25. At page 27 of *Ḥadiya* and folio 100 of the *Kulliyāt* quatrains have been given which Bedil wrote on the occasion when his son was suffering from small-pox. In the beginning he said:

هر جا اثر آینه کردست سار      دیراخ جمال گشته در خاک فرو  
بارب از آتش تو امان ده همه را      کاین شکل نرنده در خور پاست نه رو

[Wherever the poxes have thronged,

Beauty has completely vanished.

O God, save everyone from this danger.

This hateful blister is fit for the feet not for the face.]

And when the disease grew worse he wrote

ای چرخ بحق جوش این میخانه      یعنی بخروش عائل و دیوانه  
بیرون ببری ز انجمن شمع مرا      آتش نزل می بخند پروانه

[O Fate, in view of the excitement in this tavern,

That is having regard to the lamentations of the wise and the mad,

Do not take my lamp out of the assembly, and

Do not set a moth's dwelling on fire.]

2. *Khushgū in Ma'ārif*, May 1942, pp. 366-67.

3. *Khāṭi Khān, Muntakhabat Lubāb*, II, pp. 682-89. *Chulāsi Husnā, Siyar al-Muḥarririn*, pp. 8-12.

of the new Emperor was acclaimed by Bedil in a grand poem of which on the concluding verse, bearing four choice chronograms, is given below:

نص شرف شاه زمان نعم الهادی قیاض ملک  
کشور کشا موت عما گیتی ستان و جم نگی

[The text of nobility, the Lord of Time, the Guiding Star realm bestowing,

World conquering, having a staff like Moses, world reducing,  
and with a ring like that of Jamshed.]

During Jahāndār Shāh's brief reign also Bedil commanded the same respect and popularity as before. We find Nawāb Zulfiqār Khān, the Wazīr of Jahāndār Shāh, sending apples and pomegranates to Bedil from Lahore, for which favour the poet thanked him in a Qit'a.<sup>2</sup> But the reign of Jahāndār Shāh was marked by licentiousness. The Emperor showed boundless partiality for his concubine, Lal Kanwar, and her relatives, who were all musicians. Bedil soon got disgusted and wrote two<sup>3</sup> poems describing the shamelessness and immorality of those days, and in one of them he prophesied:

دور بی غیرت ندارد امتداد سال و ماه

[The shameless epoch cannot continue for years or months.]

The scales soon turned against Jahāndār Shāh, and on 15th Zul-Haj 1124 A.H. (January 13, 1713) he was defeated by his nephew Farrukh Siyar (son of 'Azimush Shāh) and was finally strangled to death. As the new Emperor had got the crown with the help of 'Abdullah Hasan 'Alī Khān and Husain 'Alī Khān, the renowned Bā-ha Sayyid brothers, the former was made the Chief Minister, and the latter Amīr-ul-Umarā.<sup>4</sup>

It was now the year 1124 A.H. (1713 A.D.) and from Bedil's point of view as an author, the year was very important, because in this year he finished<sup>5</sup> his mystical Masnavi 'Irfan, which, Khushgū says,<sup>6</sup> Bedil had begun about thirty years before. In a letter<sup>7</sup> to Nawāb Sulaymān Khān I, Bedil himself had intimated that both the

1 *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ms. (Kutāb K'ān-e-Ma'ārif, Kābul), f. 1045.

2 Khān Khān, *Muntakhabat Lubāb*, II, p. 683.

3 *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ms. (Kutāb Khān-e-Ma'ārif, Kābul), f. 1031, and f. 1047.

4 *Qhuṣṣam Hama, Siyarat Muṣṭafāyih*, pp. 15-18; Khān Khān, *Muntakhabat Lubāb*, II, pp. 715-25.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Qarī, 'Abdullah Khān, *Adabiyāt*, p. 174, *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Safaari Edition, 'Irfan. The chronogram is - همدیة ذوالجلال والاکرام.

7. Khushgū, in *Kāfī*, May 1942, p. 375.

8. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, p. 69.

'*Irḡān* and the *Chāṣṣ* 'Uṣṣ were being written simultaneously. We know *Chāṣṣ* 'Uṣṣ was begun in or about 1035 A.H., and if Khushḡū's statement is kept in view, we can say, '*Irḡān* was commenced in 1094 A.H. (1682-83 A.D.).

During the present regime also, Bedl's star was in ascendant. The Emperor, Muhammad Farrukh Syar, at first inquired<sup>1</sup> about Bedl's health, and, on discovering that he would not seek an audience, the Emperor granted the poet Rs. 2,000 and one elephant. The money reached Bedl but, as none of his agents went to bring the elephant, the greedy imperial servants took it to their own use. Shāh 'Azimābādī writes<sup>2</sup> in his *Naẓā-e-Wajān* that, the Emperor, Farrukh Syar, copied Bedl's verses with his own hand in his anthology, and many times quoted Bedl in his letters and orders. Bedl, too, highly esteemed these regards of the Emperor and in a fragment<sup>3</sup> congratulated him on his marriage and praised him for his justice. Qutbūl Mulk Sayyid 'Abdullāh Kī ān Barha, the Chief Minister of Farrukh Syar, who had the Maṣṣab<sup>4</sup> of 7,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry, twice or thrice sent for Bedl and, as soon as he saw Bedl arrive, he used to leave his chair and run forward to receive the poet-mint. He would then embrace Bedl and would also leave his Maṣṣab for him.<sup>5</sup>

Amīrūl Umarā Husa'in 'Alī Khān, the younger Barha brother, who possessed great energy and resolution, had been on good terms with Bedl since a long time, and used to send his verses to him for correction.<sup>6</sup> One day<sup>7</sup> the Amīrūl Umarā was riding through the bazar and Bedl also was going to some place. The Amīrūl Umarā could not recognise Bedl, as he had shaved his head and moustaches, and was wearing on his head the Sūī cloth,<sup>8</sup> which he sometimes used instead of a turban. Mirzā Bedl also could not greet him on account of inattention. When the Amīrūl Umarā got sure that it was no other than Bedl, he went to the poet's house, and took him away in a palanquin to his own residence. There he kept Bedl with him for two or three days, and gained much in his company. At the time of departure, the Amīrūl Umarā made a present of Rs. 3,00,000 in cash

1. Khushḡū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 367.

2. Shāh 'Azimābādī, *Naẓā-e-Wajān*, p. 71.

3. *Kuliyāt-e-Bedl*, Ms., Ma'ārif Library Kātel, f. 1036. The opening verse is—

شہ فرخ میر خورشید تحقیق      جہان مہریت معراج آداب

4. Khān Khān, *Muntakhabat Lubāb*, II, p. 723.

5. Khushḡū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 367.

6. *Rag̃ā-e-Bedl*, p. 78.

7. Qāsim, *Majma-e-Naghz*, p. 117.

8. A sacred thin-lined chequered cloth from Susa a village in Africa. The value of the cloth was 16 Dirar. See Yaqūt Naṣrūd-Dīn Mahmūd, *Dawān-e-Altun*, p. 201. Yaqūt, *Ma'jamul-Buldān* V, p. 173.



and kind to Bedil which he was good enough to accept. But after a while, to maintain the honour of his *Faqir* (mysticism), very wisely Bedil said to the Amīrul Umārā, "You know there is no room for these rich gifts in my humble cottage. I cannot find a depository for them better depository than your good-self. I, therefore, entrust everything to your care. Whenever I shall need them, I will request you for their return." Moreover, when the Amīrul Umārā was in the Deccan as viceroy, Mīrzā Bedil wrote to him a letter and made the following inquiries in a charming manner :

ای نشه پیمانه قدرت بچه کاری ؟ مست اثری باهی تاراج بخاری ؟  
می در قدحی گل سری جام بدستی رنگ چمنی موج کلی جوش بهاری

[O, the ebriety of Nature's cup! how do you do?

Are you intoxicated with drink or after removing crop-sickness?

Have you wine in the cup, flowers on the head, and cup in the hand?

Are you the hue of the garden, a garland of flowers, or the bloom of the spring?]

An incident pertaining to Mīr Jumla, whose original name was Qāzī 'Abdullah Tūrānī, and who was a great confidant of Farrukh Siyar and held the Manṣab of 7,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry,<sup>1</sup> has also been related. One day a scribe of Bedil came to him after seeing Mīr Jumla Tarkhān.<sup>2</sup> The scribe said, "Just now Mīr Jumla was saying that he had today seen Mīrza Bedil, whom Qutb-ul-Mulk Sayyid 'Abdullah Khān had invited several times. Mīrza Bedil, he added, appears to be a perfect man, but he has a defect; and then pointed to the beard and the moustaches." On hearing this, Bedil said, "Indeed, only a handful of hair, which he possesses and I do not, makes us differ," and then he recited his verse :

بروت تاقتت گریه شانه هوس است بریش مرده شدن بزگانه هوس است

As Bedil's fame as a poet had spread abroad, more and more pupils were coming to him. Many new poets, other than those mentioned above, eagerly sought Bedil's company. A brief and available account of all such lovers of poetry is given below.

1. *Āzād Rām Muḥh. 's* (1111-1164 A.H.) was a learned Hindu

1. *Āzād Bilgrāmī, Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 149; *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Safdarī Edition, Qitt'at, p. 5.

2. Khān Khān, *Muntakhabat Lubāb*, II, pp. 728-29.

3. Khushgī, in *Ma'arif*, May, 1942, p. 365.

4. *Āzād Bilgrāmī, Khazāna-e-'Āmirā*, p. 425; Mukhlis, *A Page by Burin the Library of Maulānā Mu'ammad Shafi*, I, 1; Mukhlis, *Chamnistān*, p. 69; Mīr Taqī, *Nikātuḥ Shari'ā*, p. 8; Maṣṣafī *'Iqd-e-Surayyā*, p. 59; Shabānūd Dīn, *Bazm-e-Timuriya*, pp. 310-13.

and author of several works. In his youth he was a pupil of Bedil, and for a long time he got his verses corrected by him. Bedil granted an autograph copy of his *Diwān* to Makhṣī. It has also been stated by Makhṣī that the last leaf of the *Diwān* contained a portrait of Bedil.

2. *Muḥammad Ḥasan Shīrī* (d. Dehli) was a pupil of Bedil, but on his death became the pupil of *Shākh Ḥusain Shihraz* and entirely forgot what he owed to Bedil.

3. *Gul Muḥammad Ma'ālī* (سنی باب) (d. 1157/1741) distinguished himself amongst the pupils of Bedil. After the death of Bedil, Shīrī was the most prominent poet in *Shāh Jāhānābād*. Bedil loved him very much and granted him a sword and a staff which he kept with him for a long time.

4. *Sā'ib-e-Faṣīḥ Afshār* (d. 1192/1778). He was a pupil of Bedil. His Persian *Diwān* smacks of mysticism like that of his teacher.

5. *Mirzā Muḥammad Zafardr* (d. in the reign of Farrukh Siyar). This poet used to compete with Bedil in versifying since his childhood. Mirzā Muḥammad was originally in the service of Prince *Shujā'*, son of *Shāh Jāhān*. *Khushū* saw this poet in his extreme old age, when he was over ninety, in the company of Bedil. It means Bedil saw this poet in Patna, when *Shujā'* was making preparations for winning the crown for himself, and when Bedil also happened to be with the army of *Shujā'*.

6. *Mirzā Muḥammad Akulāh Irā'at Khān Hāshimī* (d. 1128/1715-16) was a pupil of Bedil. Anand Rām Makhṣī saw him with Bedil during the reign of Farrukh Siyar.

7. *Sayyid Dīn 'Alī Khān Ārzū* himself says that he saw Bedil twice in the beginning of the reign of Farrukh Siyar. He admits that he derived much benefit in Bedil's company. Dargāh Qulī Khān says that Khān Ārzū called himself a pupil of Bedil.

8. *Mir Abul Faṣl Masrī* used to get his verses corrected by Bedil. After the death of Bedil, he became a pupil of *Shākh Ḥusain Shihraz*.

9. *Mir Muḥammad Hāshim Juvā'ir Mūlī Khān* was in the service

1. Sprenger, I, p. 130; *Shāh Ḥasan, Ruz-e-Rauḥān*, p. 221; Khushū in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 45.

2. *Shiddiq Ḥasan, Shams-e-Arjuman*, p. 213; *Āzād Bilgrāmī, Sar-e-Aḥad*, p. 23; Khushū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 45.

3. Sprenger, I, p. 197; 'Alī Luṭfī Mīrānī, *Gulshin-e-Hind*, p. 30; Mir Ḥasan, *Tazkirat-e-Shāh-e-Urdū*, p. 133.

4. Khushū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 45; *Shāh Khān Lohī, Mir'at-ul-Kāshī*, p. 417.

5. Makhṣī, Anand Rām *Mir'at-ul-Iṭṭihād*, No. I, 22 A, *Qatil, Chahār Sharḥ*, p. 67; *Āzād Bilgrāmī, Sar-e-Aḥad*, pp. 46-47.

6. Khān Ārzū, *Alimatin-Nafīs*, No. I, 35 A, Dargāh Qulī Khān, *Muraqqat-e-Dhili* pp. 44-45.

7. 'Alī Ḥasan, *Subh-e-Gulshān*, pp. 402-03.

8. *Āzād Bilgrāmī, Sar-e-Aḥad*, p. 237; *Shiddiq Ḥasan, Shams-e-Arjuman*, p. 10'.

of Amīn-ul-Umārā Husayn 'Alī [?] and came with him from the  
Lahore to Delhi in 1111 A.H. (1719 A.D.). On that occasion he met  
Mirza Bedl and Mir 'Abdul Jalīl Wasīl Bilgrāmī.

Mirza 'Adīm [?] the author of *Tāẓir al-Furūd* [?], died in  
the beginning of the reign of Mirza 'Alī. Once he invited  
Bedl to dinner. In the course of the talk, 'Adīm [?] told Mirza  
Bedl that in the following verse he had employed too fresh a  
comparison:

تو نگری که دم از قریب زند غلط است به موی کله چینی سدهی رس  
[The rich man, who talks of mysticism, is false, because

A rug is not woven out of the hair appearing in porcelain]

Mirza Bedl replied that he was not such a fool as not to understand  
the taunt implied. The [?] said again that the colloquialism in  
question had undoubtedly been invented by Bedl. At this Bedl said,

From among the classical poets, whom would you regard a better  
authority than 'Asadī, Farūqī, Mawwā, Mas'ūd Sa'ī, Sa'ī, Khwā,  
Samar and other master poets, all of whom use the idiom [?]

'Adīm [?] was surprised and ejaculated, "By God, one, who has  
longed about Bedl's mastery of the language is indeed an infidel."

'Adīm [?] then forward a ways had great respect for Bedl. Khushgī  
says that everyone who like Bedl [?] raised objections about the  
authenticity of the idioms used by Bedl, was invariably silenced by him  
during his lifetime. On the other hand, Khushgī adds, Shāh Sa'id  
ul-Jalīl often remarked that Bedl's rank in the literary world  
was so high that after a century or two the literateurs and philologists  
would quote Bedl as an authority.

I have so far given an account of those persons only about whom there  
are hints or unambiguous assertions to the effect that they came  
in contact with Bedl at some definite period of his life. There  
is, nevertheless, quite a good number of such poets, both poets  
and friends about whom the Tāẓira-writers do not give sufficient  
details, and I, therefore, cannot say definitely when they had  
intercourse with Bedl. These are: Mir Mirza 'Alī Rā, (d. 1153,  
1173) of Sākat; Hākim Qānd Nādat of Lahore; Amarat Rā  
Amarat, Mīr 'Alī Bekas (a Qāṣida of Mathura),<sup>3</sup> Mir Muḥammad  
Ashraf Haṣrat (an intelligent poet amongst the pupils of Bedl),  
Sayyid Abu Faiz Maṣrūf of Shāh Jahānabad (a mystic poet), Sīd  
Gopāl Tamāl (d. 1147-1173), Sayyid Muḥammad Qānd, Mir Muḥammad

1. *Khushgī in Māṣūf*, p. 130; p. 131; July 1911, p. 41.

2. Sprenger, I, pp. 118, 122, 138; Khushgī, in *Māṣūf*, July, 1911, pp. 43-48;  
Siddiq Ḥasan, *Shamsa-ṣ-Ṣanuman*, p. 170; A. [?], pp. 37, 74, 100,  
195, 431, 512; Siddiq Ḥasan, *Re-ṣ-Ṣanuman*, pp. 170, 67, 170; Dost, *Tāẓira-ṣ-Ṣanuman*, p. 43; 'Abd al-Jalīl [?], *Tāẓira-ṣ-Ṣanuman*, II, p. 104;  
Azīd Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-ṣ-Ṣanuman*, p. 241.

3. Perhaps Bekas met Bedl, when he lived in Mathura.

Ma'sūm Wajid, Muhammad Panth Kāmil (Qāsim), 'Abd al 'Aziz Lāh (perhaps a veiled 1135, 711), Muzā Nādir-uz-Zamān Faṣḥ, and 'Ismatullah Qāsim. Ghulam Na'ī ('Abd al 'Aziz?) Wabdat was a contemporary of Bedl and followed him in writing prose and verse. Khwāja 'Abd al 'Aziz Samī' (d. 1170/1757) belonged to Lahore and had dealings with Bedl in Shāh Jāhān'ād. Mir Razi Wabdat was a friend of Bedl and once sent him a huqqa.<sup>1</sup> And Qāsi 'Andar Rā'is once wrote prose and verse in praise of Bedl and Bedl thanked him in a letter. The Qāsi Shāh appears to be the illustrious father of Shāh Wajidullah of Delhi.

We have seen how the poets, the nobles having the Manṣab of 7,000, and even the Emperor paid homage to our poet. Rarely would a great command so much respect in his lifetime. The secret of all this lies, in the words of Khushgū, in Bedl's versatility, good manners, magnanimity, balanced temperament, cheerfulness, keenness of intellect, quickness of understanding, his noble etiquette, his superiority as a conversationalist, his generous dealings with others, and other virtues. His attainments as a scholar and as a poet, which have again been counted<sup>2</sup> by Khushgū, contributed towards this greatness. Bedl was interested in Metaphysics, Mathematics, and Natural Sciences. He was well acquainted with the science of Medicine, Astrology, Geomancy (رُسن), Arithmancy (حسب), History, and Music. He knew the whole story of Ala'ud-dīn by heart. His epistolary style was unequalled, of which his *Raḡ'as* are the best specimen. His qualities as a prose-writer are self-evident. Moreover, he was such a fertile and prolific writer that he could compose 500 verses in a day.

Above all, Bedl's contemporaries were very much impressed by his mysticism. Khushgū says that Bedl had not only a thorough knowledge of mysticism but also practised it completely, and in this respect he was the Junaid and Bī'azīd of his time. Khushgū adds that most of the problems of mysticism, which Rumi expressed in his *Ma'nāṭ* and Ibn al-Arabī in his *Ḥudūd*, were stated again by Bedl, most lucidly and with fresh smashes; and Bedl's regard for the Unity of God was so intense that, even while abusing others, he did not let the string of Unity slip from his hands.<sup>3</sup> Maktūb calls Bedl a perfect gnostic and says that Bedl regarded mystical knowledge

1. Siddiq Hameed, *Raz-e-Raushan*, p. 733.

2. 'Alī Hameed, *Subh-e-Gulshan*, p. 155.

3. *Raḡ'at-e-Bedl*, p. 47.

4. Ibid., p. 112. Also, Rahim Baksh, *Hayat-e-Wali*, pp. 111, 113, 149.

5. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, pp. 370-71.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., p. 113.

as the best and profoundest of all sciences.' Sher Khān Lodhī, another contemporary, also eulogised Bedil for his mysticism. Similarly, Khān Arzū, too, pays a warm tribute<sup>3</sup> to Bedil as a mystic poet. Even Muḥammad Afzal Sarkhūsh, his rival, has said :<sup>4</sup>

بدل در نظر و ترکل بادشاه وقت خود است

[Bedil is the sovereign of his time, in point of mysticism and trust in God.]

Also the nobles at the court regarded<sup>5</sup> Bedil as a saint. Thus Bedil had combined in his person numerous virtues and attainments, which surprised his contemporaries, whether high or low, and they were irresistibly drawn towards him.

Bedil's fame was not confined to Shāh Jahānābād only. Even in his lifetime it reached the farthest<sup>6</sup> corners of Hindustān, crossed the north-western border and reached Afghānistān and Central Asia, where it still persists. For some of the best and most authentic manuscript<sup>7</sup> copies of the works and Kulliyat of Bedil we have now to look to Kisī (Shahr-e-Sabz), Bākhārā, and Kābul. In those countries many poets sprang up who took pride in imitating Bedil. In lands beyond the Oxus, Akmal Khuqandī, Adā Samarqandī, and Šādiq Munshi made themselves prominent<sup>8</sup> in this respect. In Afghānistān, 'Ājiz Afghān,<sup>9</sup> the court poet of Tīmūr Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī, copied the style of Bedil, in prose and verse, in form as well as in spirit, so thoroughly that he has been

1. Mukhlis, *The Page Written in His Hand*, Ms. f. 1.

2. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mar'at-ul Khayāl*, p. 380.

3. Khān Arzū, *Majma'un Nafāis*, Ms. f. 56.

4. Sarkhūsh, Muḥammad Afzal, *Kalimat-ush Shu'arā*, p. 14, footnote.

5. For instance Nizāmī Mulk.

6. Muḥaffī Ghulām Hamdānī, *Iqd-e-Sarrayyā*, p. 15.

7. (a) In Kābul Museum :

Ms. No. 202, *Kulliyat-e-Bedil*, copied in 1147 A.H. (only fourteen years after the death of Bedil, in Kābul, Shahr-e-Sabz, by the scribe Muḥammad Yūsuf Khwāja, son of Bārā Khwāja Kāshī.

Ms. No. 33, *Kulliyat-e-Bedil*, copied in 1236 A.H. by Mullā 'Abdul Khāliq of Bākhārā. It has *Ruq'āt*, *Muhallat*, *A'zam*, *Irfān*, *Fawā'id-e Khamsah*, *Qudrī Nāma*, *Sulṭana-e-I'tibār*, *Bahār-ut-tān-e-Jannat*, *Hujūm-e-Hayrat*, *Naghaid-e-Wahdat* and *Talim-e-Hayrat*. Because it gives the pamphlets separately, it is very important.

(b) In *Kitāb Khāna-e-Ma'arif*, Kābul :

Ms. No. 5019, *Kulliyat-e-Bedil*, written in Kābul in 1242 A.H. by 'Abdul Latif.

Ms. No. 5049, *Kulliyat-e-Bedil*, written in Kābul in 1309 A.H. by Ghulām Ḥusain scribe.

8. *Tuhfatul Ashbāh fi Taḥkiratul Ashbāh*, pp. 116-17, 41-42, 162-64.

9. *Kābul Magazine*, August to November 1931 A.D.

called Bedl II. Similarly, we find Sardār Mehr Dīl Khān Mashriqī<sup>1</sup> (1212-1271 A.H.) who was a notable poet from this point of view. The cause<sup>2</sup> of the popularity of Bedl. in Afghānistān and Transoxiara, are his mysticism, his dynamic philosophy of life and his perfect Indian style (سیک هندی).

Having considered in brief why Bedl was regarded by his contemporaries, within Hindustān and outside it, with the utmost esteem, love, and respect, we should now pass on to our narrative. Bedl was now a very old man. In a letter to someone in Bihār, while incidentally expressing his hidden love for that province, he wrote that his faculties had collapsed, and his senses had almost ceased to function on account of old age.<sup>3</sup> To Mīr Shākir Khān he wrote :<sup>4</sup>

در محاسبه شمار اناس غفلتی راه یافته که زندگی بسر آمده مگر به سنگ  
اعاده پیوستن است یا قافله یابان سرگ عمر ره مقصد عدم گم کرده که بدرقه  
نفس را تاگزیرست بر تنگنای دروازه سب نشستن -

[In counting the (fixed) number of breaths, some mistake has occurred, and, therefore, the life, which had ended, has started anew. Or the caravan of age has lost the way to Non-existence and inevitably the escort of breath has stopped on the narrow passage of lips.]

These remarks about his extreme old age were made by Bedl when he was suffering from fever. He wrote :<sup>5</sup>

زبان نبض این تب زده همچنان حرکت اشیائی تبیه دعاست

[The tongue of the pulse of this feverish person moves continuously in prayer.]

In a letter<sup>6</sup> to Nizām al Mulk, Bedl intimated that he had been suffering from dysentery for full three months ; and in a letter<sup>7</sup> to Shukrullāh Khān II, he mentioned several other ailments, and also expressed his intense wish that the question of his life and death should be decided one way or the other. This repeated indisposition and these feelings of dejection and disgust foretold that Bedl's end was drawing near. He had shown his preparedness<sup>8</sup> for death even in 1123 A.H. (1711-12 A.D.) when in the courtyard of his house he raised a quadrangular mound for his tomb.

1. *Kābul Magaz* no. November 1937 A.D.

2. *Ibid*, July 1937, pp. 91-93.

3. *Ruq'at-i-Bad*, p. 138.

4. *Ibid*, p. 17.

5. *Ibid*.

6. *Ibid*, p. 131.

7. *Ibid*, p. 132.

8. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 373.

On the one hand he had shown readiness and rather impatience to greet death cheerfully, and, on the other, he was anxious that works, the fruit of his life-long labour, should have a safe voyage in the world. He got his *Kulliyāt*, comprising all of his works in prose and verse, and having in all 99,000 couplets, written in his lifetime, had four hemstitches in one line, and weighed fourteen seers.<sup>2</sup> When it was complete, it was weighed against precious metals and jewels which were given in charity. On that occasion Bedil said, "The Indians weigh their children against precious things and give alms to avert disaster. As Bedil's issues are only these works, he prays to God for their safety and hopes the prayer will be granted."

Bedil was in this way getting fully prepared for death when the political atmosphere darkened again. Relations between Farrukh Siyar, the Emperor, and his Chief Minister and the Amir-Umarā grew strained, because the claims of the Sayyid Brothers had become too preposterous to be acceded to by the Emperor, who, however, tried several times to patch up the differences. Ultimately the Sayyid Brothers imprisoned Farrukh Siyar in the fort on 5 Rabi' II, 1131 A.H. (March 1, 1719). A needle was passed through his eyes, but it is reported he could still see. When two months later he tried to escape, he was strangled to death.<sup>3</sup> As Farrukh Siyar was very popular with the common people on account of his profuseness and liberality, there was deep and universal sorrow at his cruel end, and Bedil wrote the following bitter chronogram<sup>4</sup> on the occasion:

دیدي که چه یا شاه گرامی کردند  
تاریخ جواز خرد بهستم فرمود  
سادات بوی نمک حرامی کردند

[Did you see how they behaved towards the noble Emperor?  
They inflicted on him a hundred thousand cruelties on  
account of folly.

When I asked Wisdom for the date, it replied,  
'The Sayyids have been ungrateful to him.'

The chronogram was very apt, and, therefore, soon got wind. The political atmosphere being overcast with faithlessness, Bedil thought

1. *Khushgu*, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 374

2. Husain Dost says in his *Tazkira-e-Husaini*, written in 1163 A. H., that the *Kulliyat* weighed eleven seers. Sa'ad-ud-din said much earlier that he weighed the works of Bedil which were more than fifteen seers. Husain Dost, therefore speaks of some *Kulliyāt* which did not contain all the works of Bedil. See *Tazkira-e-Husaini* pp. 74, 374, *Kalimat-ush-Shaukha*, p. 14.

3. Ghulam Husain, *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhira*, pp. 20, 33-40; Khān-i Khān, *Ma'at al-Khabal Lubāb*, II, pp. 79, 820

4. Ghulam Husain, *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhira*, p. 42

5. Azād Bilgrāmī, *Saru-e-Azād*, p. 149.

it advisable to seek refuge in some distant place. He fled to Lahore where Nawāb 'Abduṣ Ṣamad Khān, the Viceroy of the Panjāb, treated him with the utmost respect.<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime Rafi'ud Darajāt, and, at his sudden collapse, Rafi'ud Daula were crowned as Emperors. As Rafi'ud Daula, too, soon passed away, the King-maker Sayyid Brothers enthroned Roshan Akhṭar, with the title of Muḥammad Shāh on 15th Zulqā'da 1131 A.H. (September 29, 1719). In the Deccan, Nizāmul Mulk was adding to his power against Amīrul Umarā Husain 'Alī Khān and was defying his orders. Amīrul Umarā, therefore, proceeded towards the Deccan, with Muḥammad Shāh, to chastise Nizāmul Mulk but was killed in the way on 6th Zul Hijja, 1132 A.H. (October 9, 1720). Quṭbūl Mulk made desperate efforts to retain his position and crowned another Emperor Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, but was defeated and then arrested and imprisoned.<sup>2</sup>

When the ascendancy of the Sayyids was no more, Bedil returned<sup>3</sup> to Shāh Jahānābād. As Husain 'Alī Khān was killed in Zul Hijja 1132 A.H. (October 1720), Bedil must have returned there in Muḥarram 1133 A.H. (November 1720). As Bedil had gone to Lahore about the middle of 1131 A.H. (1719 A.D.), we can say that he was with Nawāb 'Abduṣ Ṣamad Khān for about a year and a half. On his return to Dehli, Bedil wrote<sup>4</sup> in a letter to Shukrullah Khān II :

واقعہ سرگذشت بدیل بیرون از تحریر و تقریر است

[The adventure of Bedil baffles description]

And in a letter to Nizāmul Mulk, after expressing gratification at the removal of difficulties which surrounded the grand Nawāb, Bedil wrote<sup>5</sup> :

بریں نفس پرور اشغال دعا نیز سانچہ محریبی پیش آمد اما گذشت آنچه گذشت

[This well-wisher also was placed in a trying position but let the past alone.]

These expressions definitely relate to Bedil's historic chronogram and his subsequent flight to Lahore. The wording points out that as the Sayyids tried to take revenge, Bedil sought refuge in flight. Bedil was, therefore, not unnecessarily afraid as Āzād Bilgrāmī implies<sup>6</sup> :

سرزا متوحش گردیده بہ لاہور رفت

[Mīrzā Bedil was afraid and went to Lahore]

1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e Āzād*, p. 149.

2. Ghulām Husain, *Siyarul Muṭa'akkibīn*, pp. 41-43, Khān Khān, *Muntakhabat Lahab*, II, pp. 816-933; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e Āzād*, pp. 154-170, Rām (Bedil's pupil), *Maṣnavi Tanwīkh*, Mā. The book deals with Farrukh Siyar and the Sayyids.

3. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e Āzād*, p. 130; Khushgū, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 372.

4. *Piqq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 133.

5. Ibid., p. 134.

6. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e Āzād*, p. 149.



It was in the beginning of 1133 A.H. (1720 A.D.) that Nāṣir al-Mulk established himself in the Deccan, and he then invited Bedil to that Province. But Bedil, who had throughout led a life of contentment, did not accept this invitation and wrote in reply<sup>1</sup>

دیا اگر دھند نہ جتیم زجای خویش

من پسہ ام حای قیامت بہ پای خویش

[If they give me the entire world, I would not budge a jot from my place, for

I have applied the henna of contentment to my feet.]

This appears to be the last letter of Bedil and it has not been included in the collection of his letters. After this his final illness seems to have overtaken him, and it appears that he had come from Lahore simply to die in Shih Jahānābād.

He was down with typhoid fever towards the end of Muharram 1133 A.H. (November 1720). After four or five days the fever disappeared, and, thinking that he had recovered, Bedil took a bath on the 21st of Šafar 1133 A.H. (December 3, 1720). On Wednesday the 3rd of Šafar there was a relapse of fever which continued for the whole of the night. Nawāb Ghārat Khān Bāhādar,<sup>2</sup> Šalābat Jang, who was a friend of Bedil, was with him for the whole of that night. Sometimes Bedil swooned, and then came to himself. When he regained senses, he would burst into laughter unprovokedly. The hopes of recovery waned at last, and at dawn the condition changed horribly. It was Thursday, the 4th of Šafar 1133 A.H. (December 5, 1720 A.D.) when six ghazals had passed after sunrise that Bedil's soul winged its way to Heaven. His sacred remains were buried in the courtyard of his

1. Āzād Bighānī, *Sarm-e Āzād*, pp. 169, 176

2. Āzād Bighānī, *Āzād-e Āzād*, p. 133. Husain Quli Khān, *Nights of 1127* Ms. f. 25

3. Shih Jang, in *Ala'ariz*, May 1947, p. 372. Husain Quli Khān, *Nights of 1127*, Ms. f. 26 b

4. Khān Khān, *Maṣnawī Lubāb*, II, p. 91. This appears to be the same C. Khān Khān who informed Qutub al-Mulk, Husain 'Alī Khān, of the murder of Tora of Husain 'Alī Khān, Amir al-Umarā

5. Āzād Bighānī, at page 150 of *Sarm-e Āzād*, says that Bedil died on Šafar 3, 1133 A.D. This date is wrong. Shih Jang, for his date of the 4th Šafar, has strangely been supported by a copyist given at f. 146 of the Manuscript *Rubā'iyat* of Bedil, completed on 9th Rabi' I, 1133 A.H. There the writer says that when he was writing the Manuscript in question, death of Bedil occurred on Thursday, 4th Šafar 1133 A.H. For this Colophon see Reu, *The Supplement of the Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 212-4

Moreover in *The Bhopal Library Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, under No. 38; in *The Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office Library*, under No. 1576, and in *The Bhopal Library Catalogue*, Volume No. 1, under No. 40, too, the date of Bedil's death is 4th Šafar, 1133 A.H. Āzād Bighānī also gives this date in his *Maṣnawī Naṣīb* Ms. f. 56.



BEDIL'S TOMB (11)

house, on the bank of the river Jamna, at the place specified by himself. Khushgū composed the following chronogram.<sup>2</sup>

نسوس که بیدل از جهان روی نهفت      و آن جوهر پاک در ته خاک پخت  
خوشگو چو ز غفل کرد در رخ سوال      از عالم رفت میرزا بیدل گمت

[Sorry! Bedil concealed his face from this world,

That pure essence slept under the earth.

When Khushgū asked the Intellect for the chronogram,

It said, 'Mirzā Bedil departed from this world']

When the dead body of Bedil was removed from his bed, his last compositions,<sup>3</sup> a Rubā'ī and a ghazal written in Bedil's own hand, were found from under his pillow. The Rubā'ī is:

بیدل کف و سیاه پوشی نشوی      تشویش گزینی نوحه گویی نشوی  
بر خاک ببرد همچون رو در باد      مرگت سبک است بار دوشی نشوی

[Bedil, don't be a black spot for the mourner, a trouble for his parched throat,

Die on the dust, and in the same manner be carried away by the winds. Your death is light. Don't be a burden for any shoulder.]

What a noble sentiment! The ghazal had clever couplets. Only the opening verse is given below:

به شبی صبح بن گلستان نشاند جوش غار خود را  
عرق چو سیلاب از جبین رفت و ما نکردیم کار خود را

[In the morning this garden shed the excitement of its dust in the form of dew.

(In our case) the perspiration flowed from the forehead like a torrent, but we did not perform our duty]

The glorious rhyme of the ghazal, the perfect mastery with which the idioms and phrases are handled, and the profoundness of the truths

1. Husam Quli Khān Nishān-e-'Isq, Ms. f. 206-b. In this *Tazkira*, too, the date of Bedil's death is Thursday 4th Šafar 1133 A.H.

2. Khushgū, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 374. In *Ma'arif* for this month as well as for July 1942, we learn from Khushgū that Khān Ārzū's chronogram was: عبدانادر بیدل رفت; and San'at's was ختم کلام. The last two are numerically wrong and I have failed to find out anything more about them. Āzād Bīgrāmī's chronogram.

سرو سر کرده ارباب سخن      ز غم آباد جهان خرم رفت  
رفت تاریخ و فاش آزد      میرزا بیدل از عالم رفت

given at page 153 of his *Khazāna-e-Āmira*, though numerically correct, is the same as that of Khushgū. It is, however, worth consideration that *Safina-e-Khushgū* has not been included amongst the sources of *Khazāna-e-Āmira*, which was compiled in 1171 A.H. See its pages 3 and 7.

3. Khushgū, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, pp. 373-74.

expressed, especially the emphasis laid on the development of Self, prove that Bedil's extraordinary mental powers kept functioning properly right up to the last moments of his life. Khushgū says that, on the third<sup>2</sup> day after the death of Bedil, he saw with his own eyes the paper, having the Rubā'i and the ghazal, in the hands of Mirzā Muhammad Sa'id son of Mirzā 'Ibādullah.

For a long time after the demise of Bedil, his death anniversaries were celebrated by his pupils and the other poets of Shāh Jahānābād. Khān Arzū, who granted special interviews<sup>3</sup> to people on each anniversary, as he considered himself to be a pupil of Bedil, gave<sup>4</sup> 4th Šafar as the date of these celebrations. But Dargāh Qulī Khān—an assistant of Nizām-ul-Mulk Aṣṣif Jāh—who visited<sup>5</sup> Dehli in 1151 A.H., during the invasion of Nadir Shāh, says that the 'Urs was celebrated<sup>6</sup> on the 3rd Šafar. But as Khān Arzū was himself one of the celebrators and the date of Bedil's death is also 4th Šafar, we cannot agree with Dargāh Qulī Khān. It is just possible that as the poets of the Metropolis regarded the 'Urs a most solemn occasion, initial activities began on the 3rd Šafar and the actual 'Urs was celebrated on the 4th.

On that day<sup>7</sup> illuminations were made by the people and food was distributed among the poor. The heavy staff of Bedil, which a strong man could carry with difficulty, even with both of his hands, was placed by the side of his tomb. The *Kulīrūt* also was placed nearby. It had the following quatrain in the beginning :

1. Read the following couplets of the ghazal.

به خویشی گر چشم من کشودی چو موج دریا گره نبودی  
چه سحر کرد آرزوی گوهر که عجب کردی بهار خود را  
تو شخص آزاد پرفتدی قیامت است ای که عجب مانی  
فروغ خود داریت به رنگی که سنگ کردی شرار خود را

[Had you opened eyes to your own self, you would not have been a knot, like a wave on the surface of river

Your desire for becoming a pearl was such a magic, that you changed your spring into a bud

You are Freedom personified. Woe be to you if you remain a bud.

Your self-respect has developed in such a way that you changed your mark into a stone.]

2. Khushgū, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 373.

3. Dargāh Qulī Khān, *Muraqqa'*, pp. 44-45.

4. Khān Arzū, *Mayma'un Nafīs*, Ms. f. 36.

5. Dargāh Qulī Khān *Muraqqa'*, 1; Āzād Bilg-kamī, *Khazāna-e-Āmirā*, p. 223.

6. Dargāh Qulī Khān, *Muraqqa'*, pp. 10-11.

7. Khān Arzū, *Mayma'un Nafīs*, Ms. f. 36; Āzād Bilg-kamī, *Khazāna-e-Āmirā*, p. 153; Dargāh Qulī Khān, *Muraqqa'*, pp. 10-11, 42, 44-45; Khushgū, in *Ma'arif*, May and July 1942, p. 374; Mukhlis, *The Paper Written by Mawlānā*, Ms. f. 1,

ای دینہ طبع تو ارشاد پذیر      در کسب فوائد نہ نمانی تعمیر  
مجموعہ فکر یا صلائی عام است      سہری کن و ست تسلی برگیر

[Your nature readily accepts advice, therefore,  
Don't fail in deriving benefit  
The collection of our thoughts is open to all.  
Go through it and satisfy yourself.]

Ma'nīyāb Khān Shā'ir, a distinguished pupil of Badlī, who helped the poet's relatives after his death, took prominent part in the celebrations. Muḥammad 'Alī Ullah 'Alī, another favourite pupil of Badlī, was also very enthusiastic about the 'Urs. All the pupils and the other poets used to sit round the tomb, and a ceremonial opening of the proceedings was made by reciting a *ghazal* from Badlī's *Kuliyāt*. Then Ma'nīyāb Khān Shā'ir recited his *ghazal*, as he had the foremost position among the poets of *Shāh Jānābād*.<sup>1</sup> Then other poets followed according to the descending order of their literary talents. It was always a very nice poetical symposium and all the participants experienced the bliss of joy. Mirza Muḥammad Sa'īd, being the son of a cousin of Badlī and therefore his nephew, was regarded as the spiritual successor (میراثہ شری) of the poet. He, therefore, made arrangements for entertaining the guests and for light on the occasion of the 'Urs. He was not a poet, but he made his living by selling the different *chicories* (سبزی) and pills invented by Badlī, which had a good sale in *Shāh Jānābād*.

Muḥammad 'Alī Ullah 'Alī died in 1135 A.H. (1723 A.D.) but Ma'nīyāb Khān Shā'ir lived till 1157 A.H. (1744 A.D.). Still there is evidence in support of the fact that the death anniversaries of Badlī continued to be celebrated even afterwards. Mir 'Abdul Wāḥid 'Uzlat—a poet from Sirat—arrived in *Shāh Jānābād* on 20th Rabi' al-Thamā 1, 1154 A.H.<sup>2</sup> He took part in the 'Urs celebrations. It is clear that he could not do so before 1153 A.H. He says: 'All the poets of *Shāh Jānābād* had gathered on the occasion, and as usual they had brought the *Kuliyāt* of Badlī, which they opened in the meeting. Mir 'Abdul Wāḥid 'Uzlat wanted to find out if Badlī knew about their arrival'. He opened the *Kuliyāt* and found the following *Maṭla'* in the beginning of the first page:

چہ مقدار خون در عدم خورده باشم      کہ بر خاکم آئی و من مرده باشم

[How grieved I feel in the other world,  
When you come to my tomb and I am dead.]

1. *Khāṭir*, in *Ma'nīyāb*, J. v 1912 pp. 14, 17.

2. Azād Bilgrāmī, *Sirāt-e 'Alī*, p. 200.

3. Azād Bilgrāmī, *Glances at 'Alī*, p. 131.

All those present saw this miracle (کرامت) of Bedil. The event narrated by 'Ulāt has been recorded by Āzād Faghrāmī in his *Ḥikmat-e-ʿUlāt*, which was composed in 1171 A.H. and, when speaking about the Kāfiyat, which remained at the tomb of Bedil, Āzād says that he bought a copy of the ghazal written in that Kāfiyat. This shows that the celebration had continued till 1171 A.H., i.e. a least for thirty-eight years after the death of Bedil. The pupils of Bedil one by one. We do not know when the death of Mirza Muhammad Saif, the Sayyid Naṣṭin (spiritual successor) of Bedil took place, but it is certain that at his death, activities with regard to the 'Urs must have, at least, considerably slackened, if not altogether stopped dead. Qudām Ḥayfand Mirzāfi compiled his *Tajwiz*, *Ḥijr-e-Daryā*, in 1193 A.H.<sup>2</sup> He says that at that time Bedil's house, which had the tomb of Bedil in its compound, was almost in a dilapidated condition.<sup>3</sup> It means that long since this date the 'Urs had ceased to be celebrated. After this we learn about the death anniversaries of Bedil from Kabul where even in 1171 A.H. (1751 A.D.), the celebrations were held with usual solemnity in the house of Ḥashim Shāq Afāndī, a professor of Persian in Kabul University, and eminent poets and scholars, like Shūfī Betāb, Khayr al-Dīn Khālī, Dīr Arz, and Sarwar-e Goryā participated.<sup>4</sup>

Owing to constant neglect, the tomb of this great poet became unknown. We have seen above that when the twelfth century of the Hijra closed, Bedil's house was in a dilapidated condition. As there was none to look after the tomb, it must have disappeared, owing to the wear and tear of time, during the first three or four decades of the thirteenth century of the Hijra. Maḥmūd Ḥasan Naṣrī, author of several works about Delhi, wrote<sup>5</sup> to me that when he translated the *Afzāṭ-e-Darbār*, by Nawāb Dargah Qutb Khān, into Urdu, he mentioned therein that the tomb of Bedil was unknown. On reading it Maḥmūd Shāh Samadī Sahib Pindwāl wrote to him that the tomb was in front of the Old Fort and in the vicinity of the tomb of Hazrat Malik Nur-ud-Dīn Yū-e-Parrān. The Maḥmūd went there. No vestige of the tomb was left, but he says he discovered the site. A request was then made to the present Nizam Aḥmad Jān VII, who remitted Rs. 2000 and the tomb with a marble tombstone

1. Āzād Faghrāmī, *Ḥikmat-e-ʿUlāt*, p. 3. کرامت در آن روز در آن مکان

2. Ibid., p. 153.

3. *Ḥikmat-e-ʿUlāt*, preface.

4. Ibid., p. 16.

5. *Arzīya* (Kabul) Magazine, p. 3.

6. Sayyid Ahmad, writing about the tombs and buildings of Delhi about the middle of the thirteenth century of Hijra (1847 A.D.) does not mention the tomb.

See page 154 of *المناقب*.

7. *Ḥikmat-e-ʿUlāt*, His letter in my possession, f.1.

and a low enclosure of bricks was rebuilt. The inscription on it reads :

مرقد سیرزا عبدالقادر بدلی تارمخ وفات ۳ صفر ۱۱۳۳  
 زائر کی ضروری تعمیر و ترسیم استحضرت برنود آصف داد جامع شهر زار دکن کی  
 توجہات شامانہ سے ۱۳۵۱ء میں کرائی گئی [

The tomb of Mirzā 'Abd al-Qādir Badlī.

Date of death: 3rd Šafar, 1133 A.H.

[Necessary repairs and constructions made in 1359 A.H. through the royal regards of His Highness Nāṣir Jah VII, the ruler of the Deccan.]

The date of death as given in this inscription is incorrect. It should be 4th Šafar, 1133 A.H. Moreover, the house of Badlī, where he was buried at his death, was situated on the bank of the River Jumna, as stated<sup>1</sup> by Husain Qulī Khān in *Nāṣir-nā-ʿIshq*; and outside the Delhi Gate and the City-Wall, in the quarter of Khikriān by the Ghar Ghat (ferry), as stated by Khushq<sup>2</sup>. This authoritative description of the locality places the tomb of Badlī in the neighbourhood of Delhi Gate. But the Old Fort, where, near the tomb of Malik Nūr-ud-Dīn Yār-e-Parrān, Maulana Hasan Nadwi has discovered the site of Badlī's tomb, is at a distance of more<sup>3</sup> than two miles from Delhi Gate. No doubt the River Jumna at one time flowed<sup>4</sup> near the tomb of Yār-e-Parrān and Badlī's tomb was also at the river bank, but this alone cannot be a decisive factor in determining the situation of Badlī's tomb. Besides, the tomb of Yār-e-Parrān and also the equally famous tomb of Abū Bakr Tūl opposite it have existed<sup>5</sup> since the days of the Khiljī Kings. But neither Khushq nor Husain Qulī Khān has made any reference to these two very important tombs or to the Old Fort. Reference to Delhi Gate, therefore, shows that Badlī's house was nearer to this place than to the three almost contiguous historic places mentioned above. Finally, in *Adab-ul-Munīl* by Sir Sayyid Ahmad, which was written in 1847 A.D., and also in the subsequent books: *Compendium Nigār*, *Maṣābiḥ-e-Awāṣ*, *Dehli and Wāḍi*, *Dehli-e-Darul Hukūmat-e-Delhī* no mention has been made of the tomb of Badlī. It is worth consideration that the last book in particular treats the subject exhaustively and mentions even the ruins<sup>6</sup>

1 Cf. the photo of the tomb attached.

2 F. in Qulī Khān *Nāṣir-nā-ʿIshq*, No.

3 Khushq in *Maṣābiḥ*, May 1912.

4 Sayyid Ahmad, *Sir*, *Adab-ul-Munīl*, p. 47; 'Abdul Haq, *Sharbat Nigār*,

5 *Enghir-ud-Dīn*, *Wāḍiʿat-e-Darul Hukūmat-e-Delhī*, II, pp. 623-24.

6 Mahasomi ʿĀlam Ṣ., *Maṣābiḥ-e-Awāṣ-e-Delhī*, pp. 14, 16.

7 *Wāḍiʿat-e-Darul Hukūmat-e-Delhī*, II, p. 625.



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of Delhi. *Asār-us-Sanādīd* also is of the utmost importance in this connection. Mirzā Asadullah Khān Ghālib<sup>1</sup> (1797-1869 A.D.), who was an ardent follower<sup>2</sup> of Bedil, wrote a review<sup>3</sup> on the book. Had there been any vestige of Bedil's tomb in 1847 A.D., Ghālib must have asked Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān to mention it. It is, therefore, certain that absolutely no trace of Bedil's tomb was left by that time.<sup>4</sup> In view of all this I am emphatically of the opinion that Maulānā Hasan Nizāmī has not been able to discover the right site of Bedil's tomb. A tomb, which, in spite of its indistinct shape, could be distinguished by Hasan Nizāmī in 194 A.D. (1359 A.H.), could afford better visibility in 1847 A.D., i.e. about a century earlier. But we know Ghālib and Sir Sayyid Ahmad have not uttered even a single word about the tomb in *Asār-us-Sanādīd*. To locate the tomb, therefore, a thorough and scientific search is needed at the spot.<sup>5</sup>

1. Mehr, Ghulām Rasūl, *Ghālīb*, pp. 1, 236

2. *Gulshan-e-Beghar*, in Springer, I p. 220. Mehr, Ghulām Rasūl, *Ghālīb*, p. 334. Ghālib himself has said:

سداقہ خان قیامت ہے

طرزِ بیدل میں ریختہ لکھنا

[Asadullah Khān! It is extremely difficult to write ghazals in Bedil's style.]

3. Sayyid Ahmad, Sir *Asār-us-Sanādīd*, pp. 125-27. The following verse of Ghālib suggests that the tomb of Bedil had disappeared even before his (Ghālib's) times:

گر بلے حضرت بیدل کا خط لوحِ مزار

4. Ibid., p. 51. At this page Sayyid Ahmad seems to speak about the locality where Bedil's house was situated, but he has not mentioned the house or the tomb in question.

5. It may be noted that Dargāh Qutb Khān places the tomb in the Old Delhi (دہلی کهنہ), see Dargāh Qutb Khān, *Muragga'-e-Delhi*, p. 10.

WORKS

## Introductory

Bedil, we have seen, was very careful over the preservation of his works. Before handing them over to posterity, he weighed them against precious stones and pearls, gave alms, and prayed to God that his works be preserved. We know that the Kulliyāt, which was weighed in this way, remained at the tomb of Bedil for many years, and on every death anniversary the poets of Shāh Jahānābād placed it in their midst near Bedil's tomb and recited poems from it. But we do not know what happened to this Kulliyāt afterwards, nor whether now it does exist anywhere in the world or not. Moreover, not long after the poet's death in 1720 A.D. (1133 A.H.) the Mughal Imperial Government of Dehlī had to pass through several vicissitudes<sup>1</sup> until it finally ended in 1857 A.D. As for over a century, conditions were absolutely unsettled in Dehlī, it appears that most of the manuscript copies of his works were either destroyed or, with the exception of a few, they found their way to different European countries, especially England. Fortunately, during his lifetime, Bedil's fame had crossed the North-Western Frontiers of this subcontinent, and manuscripts of his works had reached Bukhārā and Shahr-e-Sabz, where the scribes made many copies and gave them a wide circulation. This explains why almost all the manuscript copies of his Kulliyāt, which exist<sup>2</sup> in Kabul, have been imported from these two cities of Central Asia. From this account it appears that Bedil's prayer for the preservation of his works, was granted, although the original copy of the Kulliyāt, written under his own supervision, appears to have been lost.

1. Reference has been made here to the invasions of Nādir Shāh and Aḥmad Shāh, the rebellion of the Rohillas and the Marhattas, and the conquests of the British.

2. For example, Kābul Museum Kulliyāt No. 33—having محیط اعظم - رتعات نغمه وحدت - هجوم حیرت - بهارستان جنوں - سرمه اعتبار - گذری نامه - نوائه—was written in Bukhārā in 1236 A.H. by one Mullā 'Abdul Khāliq; and Kulliyāt No. 202—having ترجیع بند - رباعیات - غزلیات تعریف فیلی و شمشیر واسپ and رساله کیمیا - مخدرات - قصائد و قطعات

A study of the printed catalogues, describing Persian manuscripts existing in various libraries of the world, brings to light some very important facts with regard to the works of Bedil. Some of the manuscripts of his works were written during his lifetime, and some only a few years after his death. The Bankipur Library<sup>1</sup> has a manuscript copy of the *Wasf* of Bedil which was written in 1119 A.H. (1706-7), i.e. thirteen years before the death of Bedil, and it is believed that this copy was transcribed by the poet himself. This library has also another very valuable<sup>2</sup> copy of Bedil's *Rubā'is* written eleven years before his death, i.e. in 1122 A.H. But the most complete<sup>3</sup> collection of Bedil's *Rubā'is* extant, containing nearly 3,500 epigrams in a strictly alphabetical order, dated 17th Muharram, 1126 A.H. (February 2, 1714), exists in the India Office Library. It would, however, be interesting to note that in the British Museum, London, there is a collection of Bedil's *Rubā'is*, which the copyist began<sup>4</sup> to write when Bedil was alive, and finished it on 9th Rabi' I, 1133 A.H. (January 8, 1721), i.e. one month and four days after the poet's death; and incidentally the copyist has a colophon, at folio 126, which gives Thursday, 4th Šafar, 1133 A.H. (December 3, 1720), as the date of Bedil's death.

As regards the oldest manuscript copies of the other independent works of Bedil, the *Maṣnavī 'Irfān* and the prose-work *Nikāt*, bearing the dates 1123 A.H. (1715-6 A.D.) and 1154 A.H. (1741-2 A.D.), respectively, are found in the British Museum<sup>5</sup>. *Tilism-e-Hayrat*, transcribed in 1188 A.H. (1774-5 A.D.), exists in the Edinburgh University Library<sup>6</sup>; and *Ḥūr-e-Ma'rīfat*, copied in 1191 A.H. (1777-8 A.D.), has been preserved in the India Office Library.<sup>7</sup> In Kabul I saw a very valuable manuscript copy of the *Maṣnavī Akhlī-e-A'zam*, in the possession of Professor Haḥīm Shāh Afandī<sup>8</sup> of Kabul University. This was written in 1134 A.H. (1721-2 A.D.) only one year after the death of Bedil, by one Muḥammad Wāsiḥ ibn Muḥammad Bīqr Šādīql. Two copies of this *Maṣnavī*, written each in 1161 A.H. (1748 A.D.), which are older than the other known copies, are found<sup>9</sup> in the Edinburgh University Library and the India Office Library.

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—was written in *Šahr-e-Sabz* in 1147 A.H. (1734-5 A.D.) by one Muḥammad Yūnus Kāwī.<sup>10</sup>

1. *Bankipur Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, Ms. No. 386.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 385.
3. *India Office Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, Ms. No. 1631.
4. *British Museum Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, Supplement, fol. 212a.
5. *Ibid.*, folios 107-a and 746-b.
6. *Edinburgh University Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, No. 317.
7. *India Office Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, No. 168.
8. *Ajawa Magazine*, Kabul for Dair, 1329 A.H., pp. 6-11.
9. *Edinburgh University Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, No. 34; *India Office Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, No. 1682.

Leaving aside these independent works found separately, we come to the *Diwān* or *Kulliyāt* of Bedl. Its first copy was prepared towards the close of the eleventh century of the H. jra. Perhaps a manuscript of the *Diwān*, bearing the date 1098 A.H.—a copy of which remained in possession of Anand Rām Mukhḥṣ, who obtained on it the autograph of Bedl—is found<sup>1</sup> in the Habib Ganj Library. It has only 5,346 verses, and specimens of all types of verse have been given. Another copy<sup>2</sup> of the old or first *Diwān* of the poet, having a Preface, *Ghazals*, *Qasidas*, and *Rubā'is*, is found in the India Office Library. This copy was finished on the 15th of Zulqā'da, A.H. 1106 (May 13, 1690). It is not known whether these two copies of the old *Diwān* are identical or not. The Bankipur Library has a *Kulliyāt* of Bedl, in two volumes, which was written only one or two years after the poet's death. It is said to contain complete prose and poetical works of Mīrzā 'Abdul Qādir Bedl. It contains:

*Volume I* *Chahār 'Unṣar*, *Ruq'at*, Preface to the old *Diwān*, *Qasidas*, *Qit'as*, *Rubā'is*, etc., تنبيه الموهوبين, Satirical *Rubā'is*, and *Ghazals*.

*Volume II*. *Rubā'is*, *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, *Muḥit-e-A'zam*, *Taḥsin-e-Hairat*, and *'Irfān*.

But if the chronological priority of Bankipur *Diwān* is set aside, I would attach equal importance to the Kābul Museum's richly adorned and elegant *Diwān* of Bedl, written by Muḥammad Qāsim ibn Mullā Shāfi' Ulah in 1247 A.H. (1831-2 A.D.) because, although it does not contain تنبيه الموهوبين and طرسمرفت, it has *Nikāḥ* and *Shā'arāt* of Bedl, of which the Bankipur *Diwān* is bereft.

But this does not mean that these two *Diwāns* put together contain all the prose and poetical works of Bedl. Much would still be wanting. The *Masnavī Gul-e-Zard*, about which Bedl wrote<sup>3</sup> to Dawūd Shukrullah Khān, has not been mentioned and unfortunately the catalogues are silent about it. Besides, the *Diwān* in the Panjab University Library has 29 *Mukhammasāt* of Bedl, which have not been given in the above-mentioned *Diwāns*. But the Panjab University *Diwān*, too, has not got the *Mukhammasāt* beginning with the following lines:

این خیره سری چند که نئی حال و نه دل اند  
العیلا ای سرخوشان جام اقبال طرب  
ای از عدم تا هستیت هنگامه نیرنگها

1. *Ms. No. 1676*, for January 1934 A.D.

2. *India Office Library Catalogue*, Ms. No. 1676.

3. *Bankipur Library Catalogue*, Ms. No. 381.

4. *Kābul Museum Kulliyāt* No. 5.

5. Bedl wrote that he had written 150 verses of the *Masnavī*. I think it was incorporated by him in his *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*. I base my opinion on the following hemistich found in the latter.

گل زردم گل زردم گل زرد

I found<sup>1</sup> these three *Mukhammasāt* in the *Diwān* in *Ma'ārif Library*, *Kābul*, written in 1309 A.H. (1891-2 A.D.) by *Ghulām Husain Kābulī*. This brings the number of the poems of this kind to 32, but when I was in *Kābul*, Professor *Hāshim Shāq Afandī* told me that he had counted 45 *Mukhammasāt*. The *Ma'ārif Library Diwān*,<sup>2</sup> mentioned just now, contains some more additional material. It has a *Tarkīb Band*, *Tarjīl' Band*, *Riddles*, and verses in praise of the elephant, the horse, the beloved, the sword, and *Shab-e-Barāt*. Both, *Khushgū*<sup>3</sup> and the author<sup>4</sup> of *Gul-e-Ra'nā*, have included almost all of these in the works of *Bedil*. Moreover, in this *Kābulī Diwān*, there are 65 verses by *Bedil* in the *Turkish*<sup>5</sup> language. I give only one verse from the *Qasīda*:-

ای تخت تیموری اور و تادر      یو حمله خانقاہ اور دی قادر

We should not be surprised to learn this because we know already that *Bedil* knew<sup>6</sup> *Turkish*. Also *Khushgū* speaks<sup>7</sup> about an Anthology (*جامعہ*) compiled by *Mirzā Bedil* which has been described<sup>8</sup> by Dr. *Rieu* in the catalogue of the *British Museum*, *London*. Moreover, *Bedil* himself speaks about another work on *Geomancy* (*رمل*), called *Tūlīf ul Akkām*.<sup>9</sup> No biographer, however, has mentioned anything about this work, although *Khushgū* has stated<sup>10</sup> that the poet was well versed in the Art. This compilation, too, like the *Maṣnavī Gul-e-Zard*, seems to have been lost. Finally, both<sup>11</sup> *Khushgū* and the author of *Gul-e-Ra'nā*, tell us that *Bedil* composed about, 99,000 verses and they state that *Maṣnavī Muḥit-e-A'zam* of *Bedil* contains 2,000 verses only. But in the *Edinburgh University Library* there are

1. *Ma'ārif Library, Kābul*, Ms. No. 504/9. Folios 1031, 1042, and 1086 respectively.

2. It contains:

اوراق حمد و نعت و مستقب و ترکیب بند، نکات، اوراق در تعریف قبل، اوراق حکایت در علم کیمیا، اوراق در تعریف دھان و کلام معشوق و تعریف اسپ، اوراق ترجیع بند، اوراق در تعریف شمشیر، وراق غزلیات، اوراق قصیدہ، آخری، اوراق تاریخ تولد و خزل و رباعی بی نقطہ، اوراق رباعیات، اوراق در صفت شب برات و عمارت و تاریخ و لطعات، اوراق مسما و چیستان، رباعیات تہنیت، تعزیت و مخمسات و رباعیات۔

3. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, pp. 374-6.

4. *Bankipur Library Catalogue*, under No. 381.

5. *Ma'ārif Library, Kābul*, Ms. No. 504/9, page 1001.

6. Page 44 *supra*.

7. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif* May 1942, p. 376.

8. *Rieu, British Museum Catalogue*, t. 737a-b.

9. *Kulīyat-e-Safdarī*, Preface to *Ruq'at*, p. 1.

10. Page 105, *supra*.

11. Foot notes No. 3 and 4 above.



two manuscript copies of this *Maṣnavī* and one is larger<sup>1</sup> than the other. In the Panjab University Library,<sup>2</sup> too, there are two copies of this *Maṣnavī*, of which each has about 6,000 verses; and the one I saw with Ḥashim Shāiq Afandī in Kābul had also an equal number of verses. It is thus apparent that Bedil's works are scattered all over the world, and that no manuscript *Kulliyāt* of Bedil contains his complete prose and poetical works.

Incidentally, it would be of particular interest to the admirers of the great Urdu poet Asadullah Khān Ghālib, that, in the Panjab University Library, there is a manuscript<sup>3</sup> having Bedil's *Maṣnavīs* *Tūr-e-Ma'rīfat* and *Mahīṭ-e-A'ẓam*, which were for some time with Ghālib. The *Tūr-e-Ma'rīfat*, on its first page, above the seal impression of Ghālib, has the following couplet in his own beautiful cursive hand :

ازین صحیفه بنوعی ظهور معرفت است      که ذره ذره چراغان طور معرفت است

[From this treatise a wide range of mystical knowledge is revealed in such a way that

[Every atom is luminous like the mount Sinai of knowledge (طور معرفت)].

Similarly, the *Maṣnavī* *Mahīṭ-e-A'ẓam* has the following couplet :

هر حبابی را که موجش کل کند جام جم است  
آب حیوان آب حوتی از محیط اعظم است

[Every bubble that rises from the wave is the cup of Jamshīd and the

Water of Life is but a streamlet from the محیط اعظم (Great Ocean).]

The seal bears the date 1231 A.H. (1815-6 A.D.).

So much about the manuscripts. Now we should take up the published works of Bedil. As far as I have been able to discover, the *Ruq'āt* of the poet were published, with marginal notes, in Ḥasnā Press, Lucknow, in 1260 A.H. (1844-5 A.D.) in the Nawilkishore Press in 1292 A.H. (1875-6 A.D.) and in the Ahmadi Press, Sā'ndara (Meerut). His *Chahār 'Unsur*, too, was published, in the last mentioned press in 1278 A.H. (1861-2 A.D.). Dr. Ethe says<sup>4</sup> that the old or first *Diwān* of Bedil, together with *نکات و ثقات* and *چهار عنصر*, was lithographed in 1287 A.H. (1870-1 A.D.), at Lucknow, under the title *کلیات بدیل*. This was perhaps re-published in the Nawilkishore Press

1. *Edinburgh University Library Catalogue* Ms. No. 315.

2. *Panjab University Library*, Mss. Nos. 1524 and 1526.

3. *Ibid.*, Ms. No. 1525. Khwāja 'Isādu'llah Ashtar also gives these verses : Ghālib in his book *Bedil*, but as he got everything relating to these verses from the author of this work, the original source has been given here.

4. *Ethe, India Office Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, under No. 1676.





in this *Kulliyāt*. Also I found that in it the *Masnavi Mahit-2.4* *gan* has only 2,000 verses and not 6,000 as some manuscripts of the *Masnavi* contain.<sup>1</sup> The number of *Ghazliyyāt* and *Qit'āt* too, is less. In spite of these drawbacks it is, as I have remarked, far better than any other *Kulliyāt* of *Bedil*.

At the end of the *Kulliyāt* a brief biography of the poet has been given. We are told that he belonged to the *Ar'ās* tribe of *Mughals*, and that he was born in 'Azimābād, Patna. Other details too corroborate our researches. There is also a concise but instructive review on *Bedil's* verse.

Now I turn to the other *Diwān* of supreme value typed in *Arābīc* script, with meticulous care, in *Kābul* in 1334 A.H. (1916 A.D.), at the behests of *Amir Habibullah Khān*. It consists only of *ghazals*, and is 19x13 inches. It has 232 pages, with 4 columns each except when there is a *ghazal* with a longer metre, and then there are only two columns. The average number of couplets to a page is about 82. The *Diwān*, therefore, has about 20,000 couplets in all. But the *ghazals* given in it go only up to the letter 'ḍ' (*dāl*). It is hence an incomplete volume, and probably remained so owing to the sudden and unfortunate end of *Habibullah Khān*. Still it is an invaluable edition. Its characteristic features are:

1. The *Diwān* has been arranged in alphabetical order keeping in view both the opening letter and the last letter of each *ghazal*. It is, therefore, very easy to search out a *ghazal* when its first letter is known.

2. The *Diwān* has the greatest number of *ghazals* under each *radīf*. For example, in *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī* under '*radīf Alaf*' there are 204 *ghazals*, while this *Diwān* has 335.

3. Every *ghazal* in this *Diwān* has the largest number of couplets. We take the *ghazal* beginning with:

زهی نظاره را از جلوه حسن تو زبورها

The *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī* and the *Lahore Diwān* have each 7 couplets in this *ghazal*. The *Nawakshore Diwān* has 11, and the *Diwān* under discussion has 15.

4. In the case of several *ghazals*, having the same metre and rhyme, overlappings are observed in other *Diwāns* but not in the *Kābul Diwān*. In *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī* there are three *ghazals* of the metre and rhyme:

زهی نظاره را از جلوه حسن تو زبورها

The first two have the same opening verse, and the second and

1. PP. 122-3, *Supra*.

the third have the same concluding verse. Moreover, several other couplets have been repeated in all the three ghazals. The Kābul Diwān has also three ghazals, but it is absolutely free from this defect.

5. In the ghazals of the same metre and the same rhyme, the Kābul Diwān has the largest number of verses. In the aforesaid three ghazals, this Diwān has 43 verses, while the *Kulliyat-e-Safdarī* has only 33.

6. The hemistiches of verses in some cases have been interchanged even in *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī* and the verses, therefore, become meaningless. In the Kābul Diwān this intermingling too has been avoided. The following verses of both the Diwāns may be studied side by side:

*Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*

نیست ممکن رنگ را بایوی گل آبیخن  
کمتو آفتد نرمنی\* پستان زن نازاده را

ساز خست نیست بیدل بی درشتیهائی طبع  
کم رسد گرد کدورت دامن آلوده را

*Kābul Diwān*

نیست ممکن رنگ را بایوی گل آبیخن  
کم رسد گرد کدورت دامن آزاده را

ساز خست نیست بیدل بی درشتیهائی طبع  
کمتو آفتد نرمنی\* پستان زن نازاده را

7. Last but not the least, the Kābul Diwān has more often the most correct form of each verse. The following verse in both these Diwāns may be compared.

*Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*

سر سودائی ما را غم دستار کی باشد  
که همچون غنچه از بویست بطوقال می رود سرها

*Kābul Diwān*

سر سودائی ما را غم دستار کی پیچد  
که همچون غنچه از بویست بطوقال می رود سرها

Everyone would agree with the aptness of the word پیچد in the Kābul Diwān.

Without minimising in the least the value of *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, I would hold that the Kābul Diwān is the superior-most publication of Bedil's Ghazals. But it is most unfortunate that political cataclysms did not allow this task to be completed.

We have considered above the manuscripts and the published *Dīwāns* of Bedil in detail. It is, therefore, appropriate at this stage to give in one place all his works. Besides the two pamphlets *گل زرد* and *تألیف الاحکام*, which have been apparently lost, the verse of Bedil consists of :

1. *Ghazliyyāt*; 2. *Tarkīb Band*; 3. *Tarjī' Band*; 4. *Tilism-e-Hairat*; 5. *Mahit-e-A'zam*, 6. *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*; 7. *'Irfān*; 8. *Tanbīhul Muhavvisin*; 9. *Ishārāt-e-Hikāyāt*; 10. *Qaṣā'id*; 11. *Qit'āt*; 12. *Rubā'iyyāt*; 13. *Mukhammasāt*; 14. Verses in praise of an elephant, a horse, the beaved, the sword and *Shab-e-Barāt*; 15. Riddles, 16. *Fac'a*, 17. Verses in Turkish language.

And his prose consists of :

1. *Ruq'āt*; 2. *Chahār 'Unqur*; 3. *Nikāt*. 4. *Biaṣ*. 5. *Prefaces*.

I would discuss all these works in the following order :

Chapter IV. *Ghazliyyāt*.

Chapter V. *Maṣnavīs* : *Mahit-e-A'zam*, *Tilism-e-Hairat*, *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, *'Irfān*, *Tanbīhul Muhavvisin*, *The Descriptive Maṣnavī*, and *Ishārāt-e-Hikāyāt*.

Chapter VI. *Qaṣā'id*, *Quatrains* (including poet's *facia*), *Mukhammasāt*, *Tarkīb Band*, *Tarjī' Band*, *Fragments*, and *Riddles*.

1. Under Persian Books, a work *لوگستان* by Bedil has been mentioned in the *Catalogue of the India Office Library*. It is the story of Rāmāyana versified by some other Bedil, and has been lithographed in Lucknow in A.D. 1875. In the *Catalogue of the Persian Printed Books in the British Museum*, Edwards speaks about a work : *کتاب مستطاب تحفة الذاکرين بيدل*, lithographed in Teheran, in A.D. 1863-64, in three volumes. It is a history of Hīsa and other members of the Prophet's family, and is illustrated. Muhammad Husain Āzād too, in *Nigāristān-e-Fāris*, has mentioned a similar book named *مجاوس بيدل*. But I don't think Bedil ever wrote such like books. Doctor Ethé also speaks about another mystical poem by Bedil which is without title and deals with love, the lover, and the beloved, in the metre *رباعی*. I saw a poem of this nature, dealing with these very subjects, in Kābul also. It is given towards the end of a Bedil's *Kulliyāt*, but it is in the metre *مربع*. Its author is some Munir, and hence the poem's title has been given *رساله منیری*. As regards the *Maṣnavī* spoken of by Ethé, I cannot say anything definitely because I have not seen it. For references see

*Catalogue of the India Office Library*, Vol II, Part VI, Persian Books.

Edwards, *A Catalogue of the Persian Printed Books in the British Museum*, p. 14.

Āzād, Muhammad Husain, *Nigāristān-e-Fāris*, p. 180

Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, No 1676

*Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, in Ma'ārif Library, Kābul, Scribe Mīrzā Muhammad 'Azīz son of Muhammad Amin.

*Chapter VII.* Prose Works : *Chahār 'Unsur*, *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, *Nikā*, *Biāz* (Anthology), and *Prefaces*.

*Chapter VIII.* Bedil's personality and poetic genius.

The verses about *Shab-e-Barā* are not available in the Panjab, and I have already given a verse in Turkish language as a specimen. Hence these will not be discussed.

Before closing these introductory remarks I wish to guard against a possible misunderstanding. While going through the contents of different Diwāns of Bedil found in the world, one comes across certain names of his works which have not been included in the list of the works given in the two preceding paragraphs. This does not mean that they are of spurious character. The fact, however, is that Bedil himself incorporated those pamphlets, etc., in one of his works or the other. Thus *تتمه وحدت*, *فوائد جانوشی*, *سرکه اعتبار*, *هجوم حیرت*, *گدزی ناله* and *بهارستان حنون*, spoken of in the Kābul Museum Kulliyāt No. 33, can be seen in the Third Chapter of *Chahār 'Unsur*<sup>1</sup> and in the *Ruq'āt*.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the Kābul Museum Kulliyāt No. 52 speaks about a *Maṣnavī* *مثنوی* by Bedil. This too has been given in toto in the *Maṣnavī 'Irfān*.<sup>3</sup>

1. *Chahār 'Unsur*, *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, pp. 85, 92, 94, 97.

2. *Ruq'āt*, *Nāṣir-i-Shahr Edición*, pp. 15-17.

3. *'Irfān*, *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, pp. 14-35. Its first and last verses are.

ای حیوئت شعور اسم و صفات قدست جبریت تناس ذات

کر این جا نسیم کویا بسی لا اله الا الله

## CHAPTER IV

### Ghazal of Bedil

Bedil appeared at the stage when ghazal, the sweetest form of Persian poetry, had passed several stages in its evolutionary process. Originally, a part of the Qaṣīda, it assumed an independent position later on, and in the hands of Rūdakī and Daqīqī it was confined simply to earthly love. The social and cultural conditions began to change gradually and, with the passage of time, mysticism became popular in Muslim lands, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of the Christian era Sanā'-i-'Aṭṭār, and Rūmī introduced the mystic element into Persian Ghazal. As these poets were inspired by Divine Love—a purer and more enduring passion—Ghazal assumed a sublimity and sweetness unknown before. Sa'dī (1184-1291 A.D.), the well-known master of Ghazal, sang about Divine Love, using common<sup>1</sup> similes and metaphors, and in such "a soft, refined, musical, and melodious way" that his lyrical poetry became universally popular in Muslim countries. It was Hāfiz (d. 1339 A.D.) in particular who imparted much-needed fervour and burning passion to Ghazal and, like Rūmī, expressed in it his metaphysical<sup>2</sup> views freely and very sweetly. This philosophic element got<sup>3</sup> a further impetus from the Ṣafawī Dynasty (A.D. 1500-1736) which took special pains to popularise speculative studies.

When the scope of Ghazal had been amply widened by these ardent poets, and, due to the changes in the cultural outlook of the people, erotic love, mysticism, philosophy, and moral and social values had become the subject-matter of Ghazal, Bābā Fighānī of Shīrāz (d. 925/1519) created a new<sup>4</sup> School of Poetry in the beginning of the Ṣafawī Period and poets followed him not only in Irān but also in India. Fighānī introduced conciseness and a novel intricacy with

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1. Hālī, Alīḥī Husain, *Hayāt-i-Sa'dī*, 100 (Persian trans. Sarush).

2. For Rūmī, see 'Abdul Ḥakīm Khalifa, *Metaphysics of Rūmī*. For Hāfiz see Shibli, *Shi'ar ul 'Ajam*, V, pp. 31-33.

3. Ibid., p. 57.

4. Wāla Dāghistānī, *Riāzush Shī'ar ul 'Ajam*, Mss. fs 109-a, B, 111-a; Shibli, *Shi'ar ul 'Ajam*, III, pp. 27-30; V, pp. 47-49.

greater emphasis on freshness of similes and metaphors. This school of Poetry was called *Tāẓirī*. In India 'Ufi, Naziri, Zuhri and other poets followed Fāghānī, and this new element, in the hands of the Indian poets, evolved a uniqueness and subtlety, not only in thought but also in expression. When Bedil was a child, Ṣā'ī Kashmīrī (d. 1079/1663-9) and Šā'b (d. 1080, 1003-70) were further developing this Indian style in Persian verse, and they were very enthusiastic about original conceits, poetical etymology, and all sorts of illustration<sup>2</sup> (صنعت ایصال المرسل)—figures which require lofty imagination and larger exercise of intellectual effort.

Bedil inherited all these trends in Persian *Ghazal*; the evolution of this class of Persian verse was before his mental eye as a single developing creative process, and he, therefore, did not select for imitation any particular group of poets representing a particular style. This endowed him with comprehensiveness and a balanced attitude of mind. In him, therefore, we find elements of all styles and of all schools of thought prevalent in Persian literature. A man of fastidious taste, and a voracious reader, he began his studies with Rudākī and ended with Mullā 'Alī Rāzā Tājāhī<sup>3</sup>—his contemporary, though much older in age. All the great poets of the intervening period, who left their mark in Persian literature, were eagerly studied by him, and in many cases he followed them not only in form but also in spirit, and we shall see that ultimately, after a successful imitation of the master-poets he developed an original style on account of the loftiness of his thought and the vigour and originality of his mind.

We know<sup>4</sup> when Mīrzā Qalāncār, Bedil's uncle, heard two brothers of Bedil exchanging hot words between themselves, in the course of a discussion, he asked Bedil to leave the Maktab for good and to study the works of master-writers of prose and verse at home under his personal supervision. We also know that so long as Bedil was in Bihār, he wrote verse in the style of classical<sup>5</sup> poets. Researches have revealed the names of only a few poets he studied and followed because only scanty references are available. But if the references made by Bedil during the whole of his life are kept in view, and the accounts given by different Tāẓirān-writers are minutely examined, we gather a fair crop of names which discloses Bedil's profound indebtedness to the classical writers of Persian. Bedil wrote a *Qāṭirān*, in the form of a dialogue, imitating a similar quatrain

<sup>2</sup> Šā'b I, *Šā'ir al 'Ajam*, V, pp. 53, 57.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., III.

<sup>4</sup> See the succeeding paragraphs.

<sup>5</sup> Page 11, *supra*.

<sup>6</sup> Page 15, *supra*.

written by Rūdakī seven centuries before him. He showed his preparedness to quote<sup>2</sup> 'Asjadi, Farrukhī, Mu'izzī, Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, Khwāja Salmān, and other classical poets, when once Nāẓim Khāu objected to the use of the idiom *نشد، نفی* in Bedil's verse. He wrote his Maṣnavī 'Irfān in the style of Hadīqā<sup>3</sup> of Sanāī and his famous *ترجیع بند* in imitation of the equally reputed<sup>4</sup> *ترجیع بند* of 'Irāqī. In his Qaṣā'id Bedil followed Khāqānī, Amīr Khusrāu and others. Mīr 'Azmatullah Bilgrāmī tells us that Bedil recited the following couplet of Khāqānī :

مسایه شنید ناله ام گمت      شاتانی را دگر شب آمد

[When the neighbour heard my cries, he said,

"Poor Khāqānī has to go through the ordeal of another night."]

when he (the Mīr) had a meeting<sup>5</sup> with him. For Anwari, 'Attār, Sa'dī and Hafiz the following couplets of Bedil may be studied :

رفع انکار از نسب جوان معنی مشکل است  
گر به قدرت انوری در معرفت عطار باش

از گل و سنبل به نظم و نثر سعدی قائم  
'این طراوت در گلستان بیشتر دارد بهار'

1. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 371. The quatrains are . Rūdakī.

آمد برین که در کی وقت مگر      ترسید ز که ز خصم خصمش که پدر  
دادش چه بوسه کجا بر لب زبر      لب بدانه چه عقیق چون بدجو شکر  
["Came to Me." "Who?" "Beloved." "When?" "At dawn." "Was afraid."  
"Of whom?" "Of the enemy." "Which enemy?" "Her father."  
"I printed." "What?" "A kiss." "Where?" "On lips and breast."  
"Were they lips?" "No." "What then?" "Ruboies." "Their taste?"  
"Like honey."].

This quatrain, as we see, sang on y of female love, but as Bedil was a mystic and was occupied with deeper thoughts, he spoke symbolically about matters of deeper significance.

دی خفت که تاقه در کجا خفت بگل      کردم چه نغان از چه زیاد منزل  
داد از که زخود چرا از سعتی باطل      گفتاد چه بار از که سر بر که بدل

["Slept yesterday" "What?" "Dromedary." "Where?" "In the mire.  
I made," "What?" "Cries." "Why?" "I thought of my destination.  
I complain." "Against whom?" "Against myself." "Why?" "On account  
of my vain effort. Because felt." "What?" "Burden." "From where?"  
"From the head." "On what?" "On the heart."]

Khushgū adds that Sirāj-ud-Dīn Khān Ārzū liked Bedil's Rubā'i very much.

2. Page 104, supra

3. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 374.

4. *Ib. id.*

5. *Bikhabar, Safina e Bikhabar*, Mss., f. 23-b. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sar-e-Āzād*,



بیان کلام حافظ شد هائی خیانت  
دارم امید کآخر مقصود من بر آید

In these verses Bedil praises Anwarī for his mastery over language, pays tribute to 'Attār for his mysticism, eulogises Sa'dī for his graceful expression, and acknowledges his indebtedness to Hāfiz for his thought-provoking poem. Again, Bedil compiled the gist of 'Attār's *Taḥkīratul Auliā*, his poetical title owed its origin to a inspiring hemistich<sup>2</sup> of Sa'dī, and he wrote ghazals in imitation of Hāfiz. I give below a few selected verses from two ghazals, one by Hāfiz and the other by Bedil, which show how far Bedil followed Hāfiz.<sup>3</sup>

### Hāfiz

|                            |                           |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| گرینج بارد در کونیی آن ماه | گردن نهادیم الحکم الله    |
| من رند و عاشق آنگاه توبه   | استغفر الله استغفر الله   |
| آئین تقوی ما نیز داتیم     | اما چه چاره بایخت گمراه   |
| ما شیخ و راهب کمتر شناسیم  | با جام باده یا قصه کوتاه  |
| عاشق معذور غمگروصل خواهی   | خون بایدت خورد درگاه بیکه |
| حافظ نبودى زینگونه بیدل    | گر می شنیدی بند نکو خواه  |

[If sword comes like rain in the street of that moonlike beauty,  
We have bent our heads. God's will must prevail  
I am a lover and a debauchee, how can I repent?  
God forbid. God forbid.  
We also know the canons of asceticism;  
But there is no help with the perverse Fate.  
We are not acquainted with the priest or the holy man,  
Either a cup of wine or nothing else.  
O Lover! Don't grieve. If you want union,  
Take draughts of your heart's blood at all times.  
Hāfiz you would not have been so much disheartened,  
If you had only given ear to the advice of the well-wisher.]

1. Page 26, supra.

2. Page 15, supra.

3. Sarkhūsh says in *Kalimatush Shu'arā* at page 15 that Bedil imitated a ghazal of Hāfiz with a change in rhyme and quotes Bedil's following verse in support:

در هائی فردوس و بود امروز  
ز هی دماغی گفتیم فردا

The concluding verse of Bedil's ghazal quoted here by me shows that it was written in Bedil's old age. Although Sarkhūsh went on making additions to his *Taḥkīrah* till 1115 A.H., he does not appear to have seen this ghazal of Bedil. Here Bedil followed Hāfiz using his metre and rhyme.

## Bedil

بر - قطره نه چند نازیدن کم  
 صد نقص دارد هزار کمالت  
 دل مرید عشق است محکوم کس نیست  
 دنیا و دین کو شک و یقین کو  
 عمری طایدم تا خاکد گشیم  
 بیدل چه غالم از یاس پیری  
 در دولت شیر مرغ گشت ناکه  
 پندین هلال است پیش و پس ماه  
 بحکم الله و امر الملك الله  
 الله الله الله الله الله  
 قریبک ها داشت این یک دم راه  
 چون همهم از صبح روز ست بیگام

[How long can the straw guard itself against the flame?

In the good luck of the arrow (of the beloved's bewitching glances) there is instantaneous death.

The instrument of perfection has a hundred defects.

There are so many crescents before and after the perfect Moon.

My heart is a prey to love, and is ruled by none else, (that is)

Allah's orders in Allah's land

The world and the religion, doubt and faith have nothing to do here.

It is Allah and Allah alone that sways.

I fretted and fumed for ages and then changed into dust

This passage equal to a pace was so many *parsangs* long.

Bedil, why should I weep on account of the disappointments of the old age?

Like that of the candle, my day from the very dawn was illumined ]

There are yet two more classical poets who can be mentioned here. In his *Mukhlis-A'zam* Bedil is found seeking<sup>1</sup> inspiration from Rāmī, and, Bedil's *Tilism-e-Hairat* is written in the metre<sup>2</sup> of Jāmī's celebrated *Maṣnavī Yū.suf Zulaikḥā*. Moreover, we know, whenever Nizām al Mulk went to see Bedil, books like *Nafḥāt* of Jāmī were presented<sup>3</sup> to him by Bedil. With Jāmī the classical poets come to an end, and we note they number 16.

As regards the poets of the later period, whether followers of Shāh Faghānī or the others, we can say authoritatively that Bedil made his knowledge of Persian verse quite up-to-date. Rieu<sup>4</sup> while describing the anthology compiled by Mīrzā Bedil, says that it contains choice poems by a vast number of poets from the age of Khāqūnī to the author's time. Several poets have thus been enumerated. *Khushgū* says<sup>5</sup> that he learnt the *Diwāns* of the Tāzagū poets from

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī, Muḥit-e-A'zam* last page.

2. *Khushgū*, in *Madrās*, May 1912, p. 375

3. Page 83, *supra*.

4. Rieu, *Catalogue of London Museum Persian MSS.* under Nos. 16802-16803.

5. Page 86, *supra*.

Bedil. Also it has already been remarked<sup>1</sup> that Bedil mentioned many poets in the preface to his *Muhit-e-A'zam*. Most of them were Tāzagū poets and I had occasion to speak about them in the beginning of the second chapter of this volume. From all these sources the names of the following additional poets have been gleaned :

Hulā'i (a poet of Bābur's times), 'Urī (d. 999/1590-1), Zulā'i (d. 1025/1616-7), Zulālī (d. 1031/1621-22), Tālib (d. 1035/1625-7), Jalāl Āsīr (d. 1049/1639-40), Shaidā (a poet of the times of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān), Qadī (d. 1050/1640-7), Muḥammad Qulī Salīm (d. 1057/1647-8), Sālik (a poet of the days of Shāh Jahān), Ḥakīm Ruknā (d. 1066/1655-6), Šāmī (arrived in India in the days of Aurangzeb), Mir Yahyā Kāshānī (d. 1074/1663-4), Šāib (d. 1060/1649-70), Nakhshtabī, 'Abd-  
Ahad Wahdat, Muḥsin, Muḥammad Sa'īd Ashraf (the teacher of princess Zeb-un-Nisā) and Mullā 'Alī Raza Tajallī (d. 1088/1677-8).

The names of Ni'mat Khān 'A'ī and Irādāt Khān Wazīh have also been given by Rieu, but they were contemporaries of Bedil, and already a detailed list of the contemporary poets has been given in the third chapter. Finally, to a discerning reader it would have occurred that Nazīrī (d. 1023 A.H.)—a tāzagū poet—has not been mentioned here. But I think the following couplet of Bedil :

دلیل مقصد رسیده تا توانی بود    بهر کجا که رسیدیم گفت جا اینجاست  
is an echo of this couplet of Nazīrī.

ز فرق تا بقدم هر کجا که می نگرم    کرشمه دامن دل می کشد که جا پنجاست  
At the end of this paragraph I like to give another couplet by Bedil which again shows his regard for Šāib.

دعوی آسان کرد بیدل پیش موزنان هند  
مصرعی چند فراهم کردن و مائت شدن

[Before the Indian poets Bedil easily made a pretentious claim,

That he will collect a few hemistiches and become equal to Šāib.]

We have seen above that the whole sweep of Persian verse, from Rūdakī down to his own times, was before Bedil's eyes. Rieu tells<sup>2</sup> that in his anthology Bedil has classed a vast number of poets according to the various styles of poetical composition. This shows that Bedil was fairly conversant with the prominent traits found in the styles of each era and also of each poet. It is because of this

1. Page 33, *supra*.

2. Rieu, *Catalogue of London Museum Persian Manuscripts*, p. 731-a.

comprehensive and deep study of the masterpieces of Persian poets that Bedil has been able to combine in his verse all the good features of other master poets. Nāz Fatahpurī, a modern critic, writes<sup>1</sup> that when we study Bedil we find in him all that is best in literature in such abundance that we need not study any other poet. This may be a hyperbolic admission of Bedil's greatness as a poet, but the fact remains that in his verse Bedil gracefully introduced all the salient characteristics of the great Persian poets. And, not content with what he had inherited from his predecessors, he made several improvements and enriched Persian literature in many ways. It was manifestly a gigantic effort and he might have erred at some places, but this in no way detracts from the supreme value of the creative experience he had in his life. With this as background we proceed to consider Bedil's peculiarities as a writer of *ghazals*:

1. *Linguistic elegance* (حسن لفظی). Bedil's concern for the most appropriate, colourful, and polished words was noticed<sup>2</sup> in his lifetime by Shīr Khān Lodhī and Khushgō. In our own times Nāz Fatahpurī, who has been quoted already, grows over-enthusiastic<sup>3</sup> in his praise for Bedil's linguistic elegance.

About this peculiarity, Bedil himself says:

با کلام آیدارت کی رسد لاف گهر  
بدل این جا اعتباری نیست حرف بسته را

[How can the mere boasts of the pearl approach the brilliance of your words?

Bedil, the tied words have no value here.]

I give below instances to show Bedil's mastery in this respect:

هر برگ این چمن رقمی دارد از بهار عالم بگین ترشبی سودائی نام اوست

[Every petal in this garden has the writ of spring.

The world appeared from the scrapings of the gem of His Name's Love]

چه فلک چه ذره فائوان به هوائی شوق تو برافشان  
تو بهار و عالم رنگ و بو همه آستان ظهور تو

[Whether the lofty sky or the humble atom, everything flutters its wings in longing for you.

You are the spring, and this elegant and graceful world is the nest for your manifestation.]

2. *New compounds* (تراکیب تازه). Concern for linguistic elegance naturally develops into a love for new compounds. 'Urfi and Nazīnī

1. Nāz Fatahpurī, *Makṣūbat*, I, p. 213.

2. Shīr Khān Lodhī, *Mir'at al Khayāl*, p. 385. Khushgō, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 538.

3. Nāz Fatahpurī, *Makṣūbat*, I, p. 119.

were famous for coining fresh constructions. Bedil too enriched the language considerably by brilliant and graphic constructions. Instances:

شعله 'ادراک' کشاد دو جهان 'تسم پاشی صبح' 'نوبهار عشرت' 'بهر  
آبرو' کاروان درد 'سبل گفتگو' صد کل خنده 'چمن بیکر' 'حسن بیکون' 'فلک شکوه'  
'یک جهان آشفته' 'بهار طرب' 'درس حیرت' 'پدم' 'لذات بدوش' 'کل بیکر' 'حجب  
صروت' 'محیط سخا' 'شعله' 'اضطراب' -

Notwithstanding the fact that Bedil has immensely enriched the language by his fresh compounds, some people of Irān as well as of India, object<sup>2</sup> that here and there Bedil's compounds are uncolloquial. Āzād B. 'grāmī admits that: [A man of ordinary nature alone can understand Bedil], but he joins these detractors, and says that in the following couplet:

هر گاه دو قدم خرام می کشت ز انگشتم عصا بکف داشت

Bedil's idiom خرام کشتن is objectionable. Again Āzād Bilgrāmī says that in the following couplet written by Bedil on the happy occasion of the marriage of Mir Luṭfullah Khān:

اوقات سعادت دو کوکب شیرزه آفت دو همرا

the use of the word همرا for the husband and the wife is not warranted. But Khān Ārzū has justified such like innovations in his *Dīd-e-Sabkha Khushgū*, however, steers a midway course and says,<sup>3</sup> 'Granted that at the most about one thousand couplets of Bedil are objectionable from this point of view, but what about the rest? Can someone favourably compete with him there?'

3. *Freshness of similes and metaphors.* All the Iāzaghū poets showed taste and skill in finding fresh similes and metaphors. It is in the employment of these figures that Bedil's imagination is seen at its best. The following instances would suffice:

چیست این باغ و این شگفتها سر آبی و سر روغنیا

[What is this garden and its blossoming?

—Only oil spilt on the surface of water.]

دل فرهاد آبد تیغ کوه است سر مجنون گل دامن صحراست

[Farhad's heart is the splendour of the mountain's peak,

And the head of Majnūn is the flower in the Skirt of the  
[Saharā]

1. *Shibli, Shik'at-e-Ajam*, II.

2. *Ḥusayn Qasbi, Fihān, Nazariyat-e-Ishq*, I, Mas., f. 203a-207a.

3. Āzād B. 'grāmī, *Khazāna-e-'Āmirah*, p. 153.

4. *Ibid.*, 166-7.

5. Khān Ārzū, *Majma'us Nafāis*, Mas., f. 56-a; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-'Āmirah*, p. 153.

6. Khushgū in *Mas'rif*, May, 1942, pp. 168-9.

4. *Division of verses*, having the same measure, sometimes mutually rhyming and at times rhymeless. This peculiarity lends sweetness, charm, and force and vigour to the verses, and is the result of perfect mastery over language. It is surprising that, in spite of these self-imposed limitations of rhyming parts and the measure, no superfluous word is found in Bedil's verses.

صف رنگ لاله لیم شکن \* مٹی جام گل یزین فکن  
به بهار دامن ناز زن \* زحانی دست نگار ما

[Break the row of the tulp's colour, throw the cup of the rose down on the ground,

And strike the skirt of indifference against the spring, because of the dyed hands of our Beauty.]

خنده لبریز ملاحه \* جبهه بالا مال حسن ناز سرشار جفاها \* غمزه مخمور عتاب

[My beloved has, smiles full of agreeableness, appearance rich in beauty,

Coquetry overflowing with molestation, and blandishment drunk with chiding]

5. *Novelty of expression* (جدت بیان). By expressing common facts and ordinary ideas in a novel and unusual way, 'Urfi and Naziri had lent elegance and fascination to their verse. Also sublimer thoughts were expressed in this manner and maximum effect was produced. Bedil too excelled in this respect :

همت من از نشان جاه چون ناو که گذشت  
زین نگین لاسم نگاهی بود کز عینک گذشت

[My highmindedness passed the mark of dignity like an arrow, My name was a look which passed through this store (نگین) as if it were spectacles.]

صد سنگ شد آئینه و صد قطره گهر بست  
افسوس همان خانه خراست دس

[A hundred stones turned into mirrors and numberless drops changed into pearls, but

Alas my heart is as desolate as ever.]

6. *Aptness of illustration* (مثالیه). Šāib in particular had wielded this figure with great dexterity. In it some theory is advanced in the first hemistich which is supported by a very apt illustration in the second. This figure, herefore, can be usefully employed in dactylic poetry and in establishing truths of eternal value. Šāib died<sup>1</sup> when Bedil was twenty-six years old. During his youth, therefore, Bedil was breathing in the society which was all praise for this figure and hence his fondness for it. There are very few Ghazals of Bedil

which at least one or two couplets are not couched in this figure  
Bedil calls *مثنایه* a wave of subtlety *سوج تراکت* :

بیدل از هر مصرعه ام موج تراکت می چکد  
کرده ام رنگین به خون صید لاغر تیغ را

[Bedil, out of every hemastich of mine a wave of subtlety trickles down,

I have dyed the sword with the blood of a lean prey.]

This verse occurs in a *ghazal* which overflows with this figure. Three couplets of this kind may now be studied :

ار قریب مگر دنیا اهل ترک آسوده اند  
دام راه تشنگان می باشد امواج سراب

[Those who have practised renunciation are reposeful in spite of the deceiving tricks of the world.

It is the thirsty people who are ensnared by the waves of the mirage.]

دو یزمنگه عشق هوس را محال نیست  
تا شعله گرم جلوه شود دود چسته است

[Into the assembly of love sensuality has no access.

When the flame is hot in self-display, smoke leaps away.]

زیر گردون چون سحر در یک نفس گردیم پیر  
می شود موی اسیران زود در زندان سفید

[Under the sky we grow old in a moment as the morning does.

True, the hair of the prisoners turn quickly grey, in the prison.]

7. *Poetical artiology* (حسن تعلیل). In this figure facts and events are interpreted in such a manner that our curiosity is aroused. Bedil's contemporaries were very fond of it. The following two verses are cited as example from Bedil's *Ghazals* :

عمریست دل بغلت خود گریه می کند  
این نمه سیه چه قدر آبر رحمت است

[For long my heart has been weeping bitterly on account of its negligence.

This black document is in fact the vernal compassionate cloud.]

این قدر تعظیم ثیرنگ خم اسروی کیست  
حیرت است از قبله رو گرداندن محرابها

[For the elegant arch of whose eyebrows is there so much respect?

I am surprised to see the *Mihrābs* of the mosque turning their faces away from the *Qibla*.]

8. *Original and subtle conceits* (معانی لطیف و مبتکر). Bedil is known for the success which his penetrating intellect attained in finding striking poetical thoughts. Azād Bilgrāmī says<sup>1</sup> that from his early youth to the end of his life, Bedil consistently tried to produce ingenious thoughts. Saikhushāh quotes<sup>2</sup> Bedil saying that with him (Bedil) versification was synonymous to finding original conceits. In his ghazals Bedil makes numerous references about his amazing skill in معنی آفرینی; for example:

چنین گز کلک بارنگ معانی سی چکد بیدل  
توان گفتن رگ ابر بهار یں تا و دانهارا

بیدل از فطرت ما تعبیر معانیست بلند  
پایه دارد سخن از کرسی ابدی شده ما

می گذارد بر دماغ یک جهان معنی قدم  
لفظی گز خانه تحریر من پیدا شود

معنی بر چسته توقع نمی گنجم بلفظ  
هسجو بولی گل نگر در پیرهن عریان سرا

نشستی عمرها حسرت کین غلط پردازی  
زخون گشتن زبانی شزه شو حسن معانی را

In these verses Bedil speaks boastfully about the grace which his conceits have. He claims that the grandeur of the ingenious thoughts in the world is simply due to his penetrating genius, and that he is so prolific in this respect that even a slip from his pen creates a world of such like thoughts. As he finds his mind overflowing with subtle and original conceits, he says that words are but poor vehicles for his thoughts and that they cannot contain them. Naturally enough, he exhorts himself to attend less to the words and to work with greater keenness for the glorification of the Ma'ānī. I will now quote verses to show Bedil's proficiency in this connection:

عمریست درین نجین از ضعف دو تائیم  
خداخال رسانید پیتی مگس از ما

[For long out of weakness my body has been bent in this world.

I may now be used as an anklet for the ankles of the fly.]

رگ گل آستین شوخی کمین صید ما دارد  
که زیر مسک دست زبایه رنگ حنا دارد

1. Azād Bilgrāmī, *Saru-e-Ahād*, p. 118.

2. Saikhushāh, *Kalimāt-ah Shu'arā*, p. 34.



[The mirthful beloved, whose sleeve is made of the tender  
arteries of rose, wants to capture me.

(But she is so delicate) that she would find her hand under  
the stone, on account of the shadow of hena's colour.]

Sometimes Bedil's conceits are so subtle that one is afraid they may  
evaporate if the slightest possible carelessness is shown :

مجوی آوازۀ شهرت ز آهنگ سبکرو جان  
صدای بال مرغ رنگ نبود در پریدنها

[Do not seek the uproar of popularity from the symphony of  
nimble-spirited people.

When the bird of colour flies its wings make no noise ]

بیاد شبنم گلزار عارضت عمریست  
خیال مشق شتایی که بمشک گلاب

[In memory of the dew drops of the rose-garden of her  
cheeks, it is ages since

My thought has been floating in the sweet smell of rose-  
water.]

In these verses the ideas have been given a lifelike touch. Material-  
isation of the spiritual and the intellectual is one of the characteristics  
of Bedil. Moreover, we see that at times Bedil creates a conceit  
out of his own Takhallus :

بن و تاب وصال و طاقت دوری چه حرفست این  
اسیری را که عشقت خواند بیدل دل کجا دارد

[How can I possess courage for union and strength for  
separation?

A captive who has been called Bedil (without-heart), how can  
he have *del* (heart)?]

People have criticised Bedil by saying that sometimes he indulges in  
farfetched insipid, or pedantic conceits, but so long as fancy has its  
value in literature, Bedil's conceits will not lose their flavour.

9. *Grace and fluency of language and fulness of expression.* If  
couplets of Bedil are selected and arranged under this heading, one is  
surprised to know how a poet celebrated for his conceits could impart  
such fluency and grace to his verse and now his language could be so  
richly eloquent. Not only selected verses but also many complete  
gazals of Bedil possess this marvellous virtue. I would very much  
like to quote at length, but space does not permit :

نه بدامی زحیا رسد نه بدستگاه دعا رسد  
چو رسد به سبوت پارسه کف دست آبله دار ما

[Out of modesty it can neither reach the skirt nor have the strength to rise in prayer.

If my blistered hand at all can, it has relationship with the (beloved's) feet.]

گاه آهیم می ریابد گاه اشکم می برد  
قد من یک مشت خاک و این همه بیلابها

[Sometimes sighs carry me off, and at times tears take me away.

I am but a handful of dust in the midst of so many storms.]

برگست لبت از چمنستان تبسم موجبست نگاه تو زعمان تغافل  
گیسوی تو مد الف آیت خوبی ابروی تو بسم الله دیوان تغافل

[Your lip is a petal from the garden of smiles, and  
Your look is a wave from the Oman gulf of feigned negligence.

Your tress is the long-drawn letter Alif (الف) of the Ayat (verse) of fairness, and

Your eyebrows are the Bismillah (opening verse) of the Diwan of negligence.]

10. *Lyricism.* Husain Quli Khān, the author of the *Tazkirah Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, has collected those verses of every poet which speak of erotic love; but he complains<sup>1</sup> that Bedil's verses of this kind could not be found in sufficient numbers as his ghazals have only conceits. As already pointed out, Bedil is comprehensive, and, therefore, when we go through his ghazals, we come across a large number of verses which sing most charmingly of female love. There we find descriptions of the beauty points, of the lovely face and the tall and waving stature of the beloved. The same old topics of separation, union, envy, etc., have been re-stated by Bedil, using fresh smiles and metaphors, of course with a deeper touch of emotion. Dr. Rieu<sup>2</sup> says that, in his *Bāz*, Bedil has given his own *Maznavi* descriptive of female beauty, but unfortunately that *Bāz* is not available at present. I shall, however, quote relevant verses from Bedil's ghazals:

بهر کجا ناز سر بر رد نیاز هم پای گم ندارد  
تو و خرامی و صد تغافل من و نگاه من صد تشنا

1. Husain Quli Khān, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, 32, 33, 71.

2. Rieu, *London Museum Catalogue*, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

[Wherever coquetry appears, entreaties also are not absent. You should walk gracefully with a hundred ways of figure-negligence, and I would cast a look having a hundred supplications.]

دشنام از آن لعل شنیدم که می‌رسید میخواست که سنگم زند آخر بگرزد

[Don't ask about the charm of the bad names I heard from those ruby lips.

My beloved wanted to stone me but instead threw pearls on me.]

دوا بخواه تو دیدم هر کرا دیدم درین گشتن

ز گل رنگ تو می جوشد ز من بوی تو می آید

[It was your well-wisher, whomever I saw in this garden.

Your colour is seen boiling in the rose, and for smell the wine is indebted to you.]

It will be seen that these verses constitute best specimens of lyricism. When, however, lyricism begins to wane, Bedil's art steps in and makes up the deficiency. Then, as Niāz Fatahpurī has pointed<sup>1</sup> out, a sweet and harmonious blending of Art and Lyricism takes place, and, although the emotional element has diminished, the verses are as fascinating as ever. For example :

باغی که بهارش همه سنگ است دل او

دشتی که غبارش همه آب است دل ما

[The garden, whose spring consists entirely of stone, is the beloved's heart; and

The Sahara whose dust is all water is our heart.]

Here the words سنگ و غبار and باغ و دشت , غبار و آب , بهار و سنگ , although contraries, have been brought together in such a way by the figure antithesis that we feel an irresistible charm.

11. *Sense of beauty* (احساس حسن). This sense is common to all poets, but only a few have distinguished themselves in this respect. Bedil appeared in India at a time when the Mughal Art was at full bloom, and its brilliance, grandeur, and grace had reached their climax in Shāh Jahān's architecture. Naturally his aesthetic taste developed, drawing sustenance from the colourful images he received while studying Persian poetry, which is rich in this taste, and also while travelling here and there and observing beautiful objects. There is no space here for a detailed discussion of his aesthetic taste, but very few poets in the world compare favourably with Bedil in this respect. He has an eye for the rich gorgeous colouring of the peacock, which he saw in hundreds near Mathura, and also he can

appreciate the light rainbow tints, which he observed now and again during the monsoon rains. Sometimes the intellectual has been beautifully brought down to the level of the sensible. A few verses of this nature may now be studied :

آمد رگشن ناز آن جوهر تبسم      دل در کف تلافی گل بر سر تبسم

[From the garden of coquetry came that essence of smiles,  
With heart on the palm of negligence, and over smiles the  
rose.]

خط آن لعل دود خرمین ما      رم آن چشم برق حاصل کیست

[The down on the ruby lip is the smoke of our harvest, but  
Whose gain will the flash of that eye strike as lightning?]

ز خار هر مژه صد رنگ موج گل جوشد      بدیده گر گر فتنه خیال روئی ترا

[From the thorn of every eyelash a wave of flowers of  
variegated colour would burst,  
If the thought of your face passes my eyes.]

بفکر تازه گویان گر خیالم بر تو اندازد      بر طائوس گردد جدول اورق دیرانها

[If my fancy casts only a reflection on the thoughts of Tāzīgū  
poets,  
The marginal lines on the leaves of their Diwāns would  
change into peacock feathers.]

12. رعایت لفظی و معنوی. Comparison of the same words in different contexts producing some striking effect, or of the same ideas expressed in a different way or in an improved manner is very much appreciated by the lovers of poetry.

In Bedil both of these peculiarities are found in their perfect form. He is very fond of using the word آئینه again and again. The following two couplets, having this word, have been regarded the best in this connection :

بر درو آغوش و نام او نمی دانم که چیست  
سادگی ختم است چون آئینه بر نسیان ما

[My beloved is in my arms, but I do not know her name.  
Like the mirror my forgetfulness is beyond help.]

بدل نقشی نمی بیند که با وحشت نه پیوندد  
نمی دانم کجا من بی وفا آئینه چید اینجا

[No image is formed in the heart which does not betrays  
fright.

I do not know which faithless person placed the mirror  
here.]

Another couplet of this type is still more attractive:

تجدید تا کنم از حسرت دیدار ایحائی      بحیرت می روم آئینه بر پیغام می بدم

[In order to give a hint to the messenger about my longing  
for the vision of the beloved,

I lapse into bewilderment and thus tie the mirror on the  
message].

As regards the same ideas expressed differently I quote below two  
verses about the winning ways of the beloved. See the improvement  
effected in the second verse.

نشان اگر ز گرمی خویشت نشان دهد      انگشت زینهار کشد از دهانه ها

[If fire points to the warmth of your nature,

At the same time by its flames it raises a finger in caution.]

و خون گشته نیرنگ و ضم ناز کیست      غمزه دارد دور باش و جلوه می گوید یا

[My desire has been enchanted by the charming manners  
whose coquetry?

Blandishments ask to keep away while the splendour  
beauty invites to come nearer.]

13. *Pet words.* Like every poet, Bedil has some pet words. This  
peculiarity has been noted<sup>1</sup> by Qārī 'Abdullah Khān of Kābul also.  
The words are:

آئینه، چوهر، حیرت، تحیر، بری، شیشه، بینا، سحر، گریبان، صبح،  
من، تعین، رنگ، شکست، شرر، آبه، رگ، خواب، رگ، سنگ، دو عالم،  
و یک.

The last two words are particularly used in forming combinations.

14. *Pet metres.* In one of his letters we find Bedil asking one  
Mīrzā Fāzīl for a Persian violin.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, one of his close  
associates, Shākh Sa'dullah Gulshān, was an expert musician,<sup>3</sup> and  
also his favourite pupil, Ahmad 'Ibrat, belonged<sup>4</sup> to a family of  
professional singers. This shows Bedil's interest in music and melody.  
It is because of this that he seems to have taken pains for imparting  
rhythm and melody to his verses. As in Bedil's ghazals the sound of

1. Qārī 'Abdullah Khān, *Adabiyāt*, p. 178.

2. Bedil, *Ruq'asāt*, p. 90.

3. Shāh Khān Lochi, *Mus'at al Khayāl*, pp. 272-3.

words comes to its full power, the Qawwāls, especially in Afghānistān, are heard singing his ghazals in convivial meetings or sober assemblies and also on the radio and a magical effect is produced.

When Bedil was so particular about the sounds of the words used in his verses it was quite natural if he developed an interest for metres fitting different occasions. Khagshū says<sup>1</sup> that Bedil successfully manipulated all the metres given in the books on Prosody. But here also Bedil's preference for the longer metres, which were popular with the Arabs, though the Persians rarely employed them, earned a name for him. Inspired by Bedil other poets also turned their attention towards these metres, and we see Mīr Muḥammad Husain Kalān—an Urdu poet—cultivating longer metres in imitation<sup>2</sup> of Bedil. Abul Kalām Āzād, a modern scholar of Urdu, becomes voluble when he speaks<sup>3</sup> about the longer metres of Bedil. It is a fact that when we read and recite Bedil's ghazals in these metres, a tide of excitement runs through mind, and, in the words<sup>4</sup> of Richards, there is a cyclo-agitation which spreads all over the body. A careful reader will also note that, in spite of the length of the metres, there is nothing redundant in the verses. The metres are:

- (i) بحر کامل—*the perfect octametre.*  
 تو کریم مطلق و من گدا چه کنی جز این که بخوانیم  
 در دیگری بنما که من بکجا روم چو برانیم  
 متفعلى متفاعلى متفاعلى متفعلى
- (ii) کسب الخيل—*the continuous metre.* It is called کسب الخيل (the prancing of horses) and صوت اناطوس (the bell's sound) also. It has eight feet in each hemistich.  
 چه بود سروکار غطامیان در علم و عمل فسماته زدن  
 زعور دلال بی خردی همه تیر خط به نشانه زدن  
 فعلن فعلن فعلن فعلن فعلن فعلن فعلن فعلن
- (iii) بحر معوی مشن—*the folded octametre.*  
 متفعلم هر که برم حاجت خویش از بر تو  
 ای قدمت بر سر من چون سر من بر در تو  
 متفعلم متفعلم متفعلم متفعلم
- (iv) بحر خف مشن—*the light octametre.*  
 به تماشائی این جهان در میز کن در ز کن  
 زخمستان عاقبت فدای گرو و نر کن  
 فعلن فعلن فعلن فعلن فعلن فعلن فعلن فعلن

1. Khagshū in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 376.

2. Qāsim Qadretullah, *Maqāmāt-e-Nazm*, II, p. 140.

3. Mir Taqi, *Mubātātā Shu'arā*, p. 45.

4. Abul Kalām Azād, *Qasbāt-e-Khāṣṣ*, p. 41.

5. Richards, I. A., *Principles of Literary Criticism*, p. 140.

(v) *بحر متقارب*—the convergent metre. It has eight feet in one hemistich.

اگر جهان چنانچه زائد ز فکر حوج تو بر نیاید  
مگر چو آماج لب کشاید ز عضو عضو خدایک خوردن  
فعل فعل فعل فعل فعل فعل فعل فعل فعل فعل

Here فعل and فعلن, two deviations of the original فعولن, have been employed.

15. *Abstruseness of his verses.* As Bedil condenses a broad idea in a single verse, some relevant pieces are left out which Bedil expects the reader would think out for himself. In this couplet :

میرود از موج بر باد فنا نقش حجاب  
تیغ خرنخوار است بیدل چین پیشانی سر

Bedil likens himself to حجاب, and the frowns of his beloved to موج, but as there is no clear indication, it is not very easy to comprehend this relation. Sometimes the correlated phrases in a verse are placed at a distance from one another. Again at times Bedil's conceits are far-fetched and his language is not colloquial. All these factors taken together make many verses of Bedil obscure and abstruse,<sup>1</sup> and in some cases his verses become absolutely incomprehensible. I give below a few verses which are not at all intelligible.<sup>2</sup>

در مزاج دانه آماده است فائیز زمین  
حیز کم پیدا شود گرز نژاد سر را

حیات دهر و حواس خلایق آئینه دارد  
که این هوسگده نزدیک شش است دو پنجش

عمر بست گریشی قدحش باده پرور است  
شیری که چون سحر به نفس سرد می کنم

In view of the abstruseness caused in some of Bedil's verses, owing to the various factors mentioned above, some eminent Tazkirah-writers have suggested that someone, well versed in Persian literature, should prepare a selection<sup>3</sup> of Bedil's verses avoiding all those couplets which have objectionable elements. Āzād Bilgrāmī says that if such a selection is made a very elegant and highly fascinating collection of Persian verse would be obtained.

16. *Dotless ghazals.* Some letters<sup>4</sup> as well as Ghazals of Bedil are dotless. Although their number is small, yet they show Bedil's mastery in this figure. The grace and fluency of the verses is

1. Qārī 'Abdullah Khān, *Adab-yāt*, p. 176.

2. In the library of Hāfiz Nūr Muhammad at Kābul, a large number of such like verses have been collected.

3. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 150, *Khazāna-e-Āmirah*, p. 153; Qārī 'Abdullah Khān, *Adabiyāt*, p. 181; Wāla-e-Dāghistān, *Riāzush Shu'arā*, Mss.

4. Bedil, *Ruq'āt*, Lucknow edition.

particularly noteworthy

که دهد مصالح کام دل که بدد گر گل طالع  
مهر اردند رمد آورد غسل اردند هند هم رسد

دل آواره ام طور دم آسوده دارد  
اگر گردد مثل آورد صحرارا ارم کردم

17. *Several Ghazals in the same measure having the same rhyme.* Mollā Zuhūrī was in the habit of showing his mastery over language by writing more than one mutually rhyming Ghazals in the same metre. Similarly, Bedil too displayed his superior skill by writing two to five<sup>2</sup> Ghazals of this kind. It is noteworthy that almost every Ghazal of this kind maintains its independence from the point of view of emotional, ideational, or literary content.

18. *Consistency in thought.* Although originally Ghazal was a part of the Qas'ida and had continuity and harmony, yet, when separated, it became a jumble of incongruous couplets. Love and enmity, joy and sorrow, union and separation, good luck and misfortune, in short, all the discordant ideas were expressed, of course with the necessary change in emotion, in the same Ghazal. This made it absolutely unnatural. Sa'di observed this defect in Ghazal and introduced<sup>3</sup> consistency. Amir Khusrāw, Nagiri, and Zuhūrī followed<sup>4</sup> him. Bedil too wrote a large number of Ghazals, having singleness of purpose, which can be seen in his Diwān.

19. *Prolificness.* We have seen above the extent of Bedil's dominion over verse from the literary point of view. Apart from the quality of his Ghazals, their quantity also is surprising. Sa'ad Khān Lodhī, the author of *Mir'at-ul-Khayāl*, writing in 1102 A.H., said<sup>5</sup> that Bedil's Diwān had 20,000 couplets. Sarkhush compiled his *Kalimat-us-Shu'arā* in 1093 A.H., but kept replenishing it till 1115 A.H. He says that Bedil is a boundless ocean (بحر بی - حل) and that only the *Redif* of his Diwān has 5,000 verses. Khushfudā wrote his *Safina* after Bedil's death and there we learn that Bedil's Ghazals have<sup>7</sup> in all about 55,000 couplets. This shows Bedil's prolificness, and at the same time we accidentally learn that the most productive period of Bedil's life was after 1102 A.D. (1690-1 A.D.).

1. *Āzād Bilgrāmī, Faruq-e-Āzād*, p. 150.

2. Qāṣi 'Abdullāh Khān, *Adabiyat*, p. 182.

3. Hā'iz, *Hayāt-e-Sa'di*, pp. 95-97.

4. Wahed Mirzā, *Life and Works of Khusrāw*, p. 206.

5. Sa'ad Khān Lodhī, *Mir'at-ul-Khayāl*, p. 385.

6. Sarkhush, *Kalimat-us-Shu'arā*, p. 14.

7. Khushfudā, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 376.



From the foregoing statement of the peculiarities of Bedil we come to know that he had a wonderful mastery over language, his creative imagination made an elegant contribution to Persian literature—a contribution whose freshness can never fade—and that Subh-e Hindī, the style developed in India by the Persian poets, reached the apex of perfection in Bedil's hands. These facts have been noted by various scholars of repute and they, therefore, consider him one of the master-poets of Persian. His friends as well as his rivals and detractors share this view. Subh-e Hindī, Bedil's rival, says, "Bedil is a master, of the Art." <sup>1</sup> *Khazān-e 'Amrat*, Bedil's friend and pupil, writes, "In this Art Bedil is one of those master-poets who have a style of their own." And again, "Bedil's hands progress in creating a style." Anand Rām <sup>2</sup> Mithi was a very learned pupil of our poet. He says, <sup>3</sup> "Bedil has adorned the page of Time with verses of all kinds and very subtle figures. Everywhere the people talk about him and he is known in all the lands. It is a fact that, after Amīr Khosrow of Delhi no poet was born in India who could match Bedil."

There were contemporaries. After Bedil's death many Taghzihs were written and all the writers paid equally glowing tributes to him. Aḥmad B. ḡrāmī, in his *Sar-e-Asad*, as well as in his *Khazān-e 'Amrat*, praises Bedil wholeheartedly. He accords him a lofty position in verse and says none has the requisite mental vigour to compete with Bedil. He eulogises Bedil in a couplet too:

رسد پایده معنی یا همان نهم      بلند طبع شناسد کلام بدیل را

[He raised the rank of conceits to the ninth heaven

Only a high-minded person can appreciate Bedil's verse.]

If the views of all the Taghzih-writers are given the attempt will result in tedious and monotonous details. I would, therefore, give here only the translation of what the author of *Qasā'id-e S'adīyā*, writing in 1175 A.H. (1762 A.D.), said about Bedil's Art. He has beautifully summed up all that the others say in this connection:

"Abdul Qādir Bedil is a Mā'ī who pursues the Art of conceits, and a Eulid who works magic in verse. The Law of poetic thoughts has been eternally illuminated by the resplendent Sun of his genius, and the orchard of sweet discourse has been lavishly adorned by the melody of his wit which, like the lightning, creates a thousand tales. The eye of the mean Time has not seen such a majestic person of refined ideas, although it has the torch of the Sun in its hands, and also the magic key has not heard about

1. *Nasā'ih*, As mentioned above, p. 19.

2. *Khazān-e 'Amrat*, in *Alif* / *Shams* and *J*, p. 125.

3. Mithi's, Anand Rām, *The page written in his hand*, l. 1.

4. Aḥmad B. ḡrāmī *Sar-e-Asad*, p. 148. *Khazān-e 'Amrat*, pp. 152, 153.

5. *Qasā'id-e S'adīyā*, *Laḥza* *Nasā'ih* *Qasā'id-e S'adīyā*, p. 41.

such a sweet-tongued seeker of conceits although there exist the planets as its ears. It is befitting if I call h's gen'us the spring of life, because verse owes its life to it; and it is right if I consider his pen to be a vernal cloud, because every dot in h's writings is superior to the pearls. In fact in the territories of India such an accomplished poet has never been born, and the brush of the Whyless Painter has not so far portrayed the match of this captivating seeker of thoughts."

From these remarks it is apparent what a unique position Bedil has in Persian literature. His consummate creative powers have after all been recognised in Iran too. Dr. Razā Zāda Shāfaq says,<sup>1</sup> "Bedil is the last renowned Indian poet of genius. In fact in the mystic Ghazals, in elegant verse, and in the Masnavi he has shown perfect skill and has placed before us the best model of Indian style (سبک شناسی)." Bedil's own opinion, about h's style, would be of infinite interest at the close of this discourse. He says:

مدعی در گذراز دعوی طرز بیدل      سحر مشکل که بکینیت اعجاز رمد

[O Pretender! give up your claims to Bedil's style.

It is impossible for the magic to have the qualities of a miracle.]

With such a high opinion about his style, he hopes he will enjoy everlasting fame:

سخن تو در جهان باقیست ز معدومی آردم  
زبان گفتگوها بال پرواز است معنا را

[So long as verse lives in the world I cannot cease to exist, for

The tongue of discourses serves as the wing for the flight of the Phoenix.]

So far we were concerned only with the literary side of Bedil's Ghazals. We should now try to find out the basic idea round which his entire verse revolves. The entire life-story of Bedil is before our eyes and we know that he was out and out a mystic fired with Divine Love. In his childhood he lived in the society of mystics and learnt the Secrets of the Path from them. When he was grown up and he left his home-province Bār for Shāh Jahanābād, he came in contact with 'Aqil Khān Rāz and Nawāb Saukkullāh Khān, who were mystics,<sup>2</sup> and who had a thorough knowledge of the Masnavi of Rūmī. We also know about Bedil's fondness<sup>3</sup> for barāī, 'Attār, Rūmī, Sa'di, 'Irāqī, Hāfiz and Jāmī the great mystic poets. In addition to this Dr. Rieu tells us that in the *Biāz* of Bedil, in the London Museum, the tract,

1. Shāfaq, Dr. Razā Zāda, *Tāzikh-e Adaviyā*, Iran, p. 179.

2. Pages 45 and 84, *supra*.

3. Pages 183-5, *supra*.

2311: *Arifn* by Khwāja 'Abdallāh Anṣārī, is given in six Bābs (chapters). Khwāja Šāhib is known in particular for his Munājāt or supplications, which he makes in all humility to God the Almighty. The influence of these supplications on Bedil is manifest from his Ghazal beginning with the following verse:

تو کریم مطلق و من گدا چه کنی جز این که نخواستیم  
در دیگری پنا که من بکجه دم چو برا نیم

[You are Generous Absolute, O God, and I am a beggar.  
Do nothing except calling me. Or,  
Show me the door whither I should turn if You drive me  
away.]

Moreover, the great al-Ghazālī, whose philosophic type of mysticism and sincerity appeal alike to the intellectual type and the common-folk, also counts among the mystic writers who have influenced Bedil. The cumulative effect of all this was that mysticism became the life-blood of Bedil and his basic sentiment was love for God. He says:

بی زمزمه حمد تو قانون سخن را      افسوده چو خون رگ تار است دنیا

[Without the hymn in Your praise O God, the dulcimer of  
verse

Shall produce a melancholy note from its strings.]

Bedil's verse is thus quite lifeless, if he does not sing in love and praise of God.

Like all Sufis, Bedil starts with a purification of his soul, and, as a preliminary to his love for God he wants to purge himself of all other love. As a consequence he has no love for the world and its objects, for the family or a dwelling, and even for his own person:

دل اگر در جهد گوشت مفت احرم مفاست  
هم بقدر صیقل است آب و نحو آنه را

[If the heart tries it can quite easily have the pilgrim's garb  
of purity.

According to the degree of its polish, the mirror has water  
for ablutions.]

و صافی دلست غم ایام می کشد  
آئینه صدفی کن و از درد سر برآمد

1. Tāb nāda Ganabādī, *Rasā'ī* by Khwāja 'Abdallāh Anṣārī Preface, pp. 10 to 12; Brouce, E. G., *Literary History of Persia*, II, pp. 269-72. Šaykh al-Islām Khwāja 'Abdallāh Anṣārī (395-481 A.H.) of Herāt was a descendant of Ayūb Anṣārī, the famous companion of the Holy Prophet (peace be on him). The Khwāja was a celebrated mystic and author of several works.

2. Smith, M., *Al-Chazālī*, p. 227

3. Page 119, *supra*

[As your heart is impure you grieve about the goods  
Polish your mirror with sandal and be relieved of the  
headache.]

عیش ترک خاندن از مردم آرد بریں  
کس نداند جز صد قدر شکست شیشه را

[About the joy of renouncing the abode ask of the free people.  
None but the sound knows the value of the breaking of a  
mirror.]

جوهر تجرید ترک الفت خویش است و بس  
بر سر خود می توان کرد استحاج شمشیر را

[Nothing but renunciation of love for one's self is the sub-  
stance of contemplative abstraction.]

[The sword should be tested on one's own head.]

The considerations of the Ka'ba or the monastery, of the rosary  
and the girdle, of the faith and infidelity, and of the hell and the  
paradise no longer detain him, for he is enamoured only of God,  
and ardently desires to have His Vision :

اگر از دیر و اوستیم فوق کعبه پیش آمد  
تنگ و پری "نفس" یارب کجا هائی برد ما را

[If we got freedom from the monastery, love of Ka'ba  
attracted us.]

O God, where does the striving of self lead us to ?]

گراز زنار و اوستیم فکر مجید پیش آمد  
نفس مصروف چندین ریشه درد تخم آدم را

[Having been freed from the girdle, regard for the rosary  
detained us]

Life keeps the son of Adam busy with so many strings.]

بی نیازی از تمیز کفر و دین آراد بود  
ز کجا جوشید با رب اختراع "تنگ" ها

[Indifference made no distinction between infidelity and  
faith.]

From where, O God, the invention of false honour came  
into being ?]

چلو مشتاقیم بهشت و دوزخم منظور نیست  
میروم از خویش در هر جا که می خوانی مرا

[I am anxious for the vision. I care not for the paradise  
and the hell.]

Wherever You call me, I absorb myself in Thy contem-  
plat on ]

Sorrows and pleasures do not affect him Honour and dishonour have

no significance for him. He would rather prefer dishonour! because it helps annihilate the evil self in him. And in him all the world passions and desires are extinguished :

رنج و غم شادی میر کو مطرب و کو نوحه گر  
مشت سیند بیخبر دارد درین مخمر صدا

[Sorrows and pleasures should not influence you, for where is the minstrel or the mourner?

Only a handful of ignorant wild rue is making noise in the censer.]

مجو آوازه شهرت ز آهنگ سبک روحان  
صدای بال مرغ رنگ بود در پریدنها

[Do not seek the uproar of popularity from the symphony of nimble-spirited people

When the bird of colour flies, its wings make no noise.]

نگین شهرتی می خواست اقبال جئون من  
ز چندین کوه کردم منتخب سنگ ملاست را

[The height of my madness wanted the rich stone of popularity.

Out of so many hills I selected the stone of dishonour- (blame).]

گر آرزو شکند می شود عمارت دل  
شکست موج بود باعث بنائی حباب

[If the desires fade away, the edifice of heart is built.

The breaking of the wave creates the bubble.]

All these were stages of passing away (فنا). After self-surrender self-devotion begins and our Sufi devotes himself exclusively to God. Concentration upon the thought of God engenders bewilderment: (حیرت) and this absorbs him completely. Although at this stage there is some sadness and anxiety, yet earlier excessive crying and violent agitation is gone, for the lover's gaze is now fixed on the beauty of the Absolute and he has been given access to the hidden secrets

سر سودائی. ما را غم دستار کی پیچد  
که همچون غنچه از بوی طوفان می رود سرما

[Our melancholy heads are not perplexed by the worries of turban ;

For, like the bud, by Your smell our heads have gone stormy.]

1. Hajwiri, Sayyid 'Alī, *Kāshful Mahjūb* (Trans. Nicholson). pp. 62-69. I is a chapter on blame propounding the theory, that "Blame has a great effect in making love sincere." Reference to *malamat* (blame in these verses shows that Bedil belonged to the sect of the *malāmatis*.

در چار سوئی دهر گدرد حیات  
لبریز شد ز حیرت آئینه دکانها

[Your thought went through the four corners of the world,  
and

The shops have thus been filled by the bewilderment of the  
mirrors.]

نسبت آئینه از ما قطع کردن مشکل است  
حسن تا آئینه دارد حیرت آبادیم ما

[It is impossible to end our relation with the mirror.

So long as the Beauty has mirror, we are filled with bewilder-  
ment.]

میساب را ز آئینه پای . گریز نیست  
دارد تخیرم به قفس اضطراب را

[Quicksilver cannot separate itself from the mirror.

My bewilderment, therefore, has restlessness in the cage.]

طییدن راه ندارد در تجوی که خیرانی  
توان گر پائی تا سورا شک شد نتوان چکید اینجا

[Agitation has no access to the illuminated place of bewilder-  
ment.

Even if you completely change into tears, you cannot drop  
here.]

در بیابان تخیر نم ز چشم ما محوه  
بی نیاز از اشک می دین دیده تصویر را

[In the wilderness of bewilderment do not expect moisture  
from us.

The eye of the portrait is indifferent to tears.]

ای ز شوخیهای حسرت محو هیچ حسرتی تابها  
حیرت اندر آئینه چون موج در گردانها

[On account of the gaiety of your beauty agitation of the  
heart is no more.

Bewilderment in the mirror is like the wave in the flood.]

از حیرت دل بند نقاب تو کشودیم  
آئینه سگری کار کمی نیست در اینجا

[With the bewilderment of the heart we united the strings  
of your veil.

Here making a mirror is not an ordinary job.]

In this state of mind our Şūfī passes away from action, because it  
is only humility and resignation that pay :

بلند است آنقدرها آشیان عجز ما بیدل  
که بی سعی شکست بال و پر توان رسد اینجا

[So elevated is the nest of my helplessness, O Bedil .

That it is impossible to reach it without breaking the wings.]

مرت طلبی : جوهر تسلیم نیست آر  
ای جا خم ساعت شکن طرف کلاهی است

(If you want honour catch hold of the pearl of resignation.

Here bending in prayer amounts to a proud plait in a tuck  
of the cap.]

Out of the hundred and one problems of mysticism, so precisely and sweetly dealt with by Bedil, I have given hints on about a few. Verses from his *Chazals* about the states and stages (احوال و مقامات) the necessity of فقر and the superior status of اهل کبر, the Unitive state when everything other than God appears as an illusion, and other questions relating to mysticism, can be easily collected in large numbers, but an exhaustive treatment of the subject is not the object of this treatise, and I, therefore, pass on to another topic.

Bedil flourished at the time when the ascetic quietism of the earlier Sūfis had long changed into a theosophic doctrine of mysticism. Al Ghazālī and Rūmī, who influenced Bedil to a great extent, were both representatives of this type of mysticism. In addition to these two thinkers, Ibn al-'Arabi (560-638 A.H./1164-1240) also has inspired Bedil. Khushfū says that most of the propositions dealt with by Ibn al-'Arabi in his *Faṣṣal Ḥikm* (The Beers of Divine Wisdom) were expressed again in detail by Bedil. On the other hand, we observe another very important circumstance which influenced Bedil considerably. Only a few years before the birth of our poet, religious thought in India had been completely revolutionised by Mājaddī-e-A'le-yīn Shākh Ahmad Sirhāndī (971-1084 A.H./1563-1624 A.D.) who had taught beyondness of God in opposition to the pantheism of Ibn al-'Arabi. As Bedil lived in the society where teachings and stories of the Mājaddī were still fresh, he imbibed the spirit of the Great Reformer, Shākh Saḍdīyah Gulshān,

1. احوال (states) : Absorption, nearness to God, love, fear, hope, longing, intimacy, tranquility, contemplation, and ecstasy.

مقامات (Stages) : Repentance, abstinence, renunciation, poverty, patience, trust in God, and satisfaction.

See Nicholson, *Mystics of Islam*, pp. 28, 29.

2. مرت Next to supreme and serene to the rewards the world has to offer. Say it gives even more further. It includes not serene to the rewards of the next world also.

3. For Al Ghazālī, see Smith, *M., Al-Ghazālī*, p. 227. For Rūmī see *Khālifa 'Abd al-Hakīm Mawāṣṣat of Rumi*.

4. Khushfū, in *Maṣṣaf* May 1942, p. 368.

5. Ibn al-'Arabi believed in Pantheism, see Mawlānā Rūmī, *Ibn al-'Arabi*, pp. 51-73; Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, some notes on the *Faṣṣal Ḥikm*.

6. Fārūqī, *The Mājaddī's Conception of Tawhīd*, pp. 79-84.

a close associate of Bedil, was a disciple of Shih Gul—a descendant of the Majaddid. If nothing else, this fact alone is sufficient to confirm the statement made here. Side by side with this, the following verses of Bedil reveal that he had a high opinion about Plato and Ibn e Sina (Avicenna):

نهخواند طفل چون مزحم خطی ز بهت و بلد هستی  
شوم قلاطون ملک دانش اگر شاسم حراز کف پا

لای دانش جز به سستی جاه نتوان پیش برد  
بو علی هم شهرت علم از کبر و قریب است

From what I have said in this paragraph, one arrives at the conclusion that, to comprehend Bedil's mystical thought properly, one must be conversant with the fundamentals and the evolution of the theosophic element in mysticism and philosophy of Islam. A study of the *Ghazals* of Bedil shows that, as usual, he has much to say about these topics, but again no detailed treatment of them can be undertaken in these pages, and I would, therefore, be content with a few remarks only.

In his *Metaphysics* Bedil starts with Primeval Unity and talks of creation in the form of emanation. According to the following famous tradition of the Prophet (peace be on him),

کَیْتُ کُنُوْا بِمَخْفٰی فَاجِیْتُ اِبْنِ اَعْرَفٍ فَخَلَقْتُ الْخَلْقَ

[I was a hidden Treasure, and I deared to be known, so I created the creation.]

Absolute Beauty manifested itself in creation. The tradition, therefore, talks of emanation and emphasises the spontaneous bursting forth of being. Bedil also contributes to this view:

در آن زمان که نبود از زمانه نیازی  
نه او صفه ذاتین خط است  
خویشتن نظری کرد و خود بخود نمود  
بصد هزار نظر شد بچشم خود ناظر  
بشق عرض کمالات معنی اسرار  
ز کتب کتب غرامید جاسب صبر

[When as yet there was no sign of Time,

Beyond the knowledge and the Manifestations only H's Essence existed.

Neither in His Pure Reality was there any thought of Attributes,

Nor on the book of His Essence was there the writing of Names.

He looked within Himself, and showed to Himself

The potential reality of all things existing in His Essence.

1. *Āzād B. grāmī, Sarā-ā Ādād*, pp. 193-9; *Sarkūsh Kalimatūn Shā'arā*, p. 70.

2. *Khalifa 'Abdul Hakim, Metaphysics of Rumi*, p. 31, footnote.



He looked at His own Beauty with a hundred thousand eyes,  
 and  
 With a hundred thousand longings, wanted to find Himself.  
 With a desire to show the perfection of the meaning of  
 mysteries,  
 He walked gracefully towards the Sahara from the cover of  
 the unseen.]

The last verse in particular underlines pantheism. In these verses we see that the poet's imagination is boldly at work in expounding his Theory of Creation, and whenever and wherever Bedil speaks about it he makes similar bold expressions rich in detail. We know that the Neoplatonists<sup>1</sup> in their attempt to give a unified cosmic order enunciate the Theory of Emanation, which means light emanating from a luminous body or water overflowing a cup, and in this connection they talk about the Universal Intellect. The following couplet of Bedil shows that he too was conversant with the Universal Intellect :

با هر کمال اندکی آشفتگی خوش است  
 هرچند عقل کل شده ای بی جنون میاش

[With every perfection, there must be some agitation of  
 love.

Although you have become the Universal Intellect, don't  
 be without madness ]

Ibn Sīna too, in connection with his cosmological order, discusses<sup>2</sup> Intellects and Heavens, and we know Bedil had much regard<sup>3</sup> for his philosophy.

On the one hand Bedil believed in Pantheism - perhaps owing to his studies of Ibn al-'Arabī and Neoplatonism, through translations or commentaries, and on the other hand he talks most emphatically about the Transcendence of God. It is here that we can trace the influence of Mujaddid-e-Shirānī, who, as stated already, believed in the Transcendent God. A perusal of the following verses of Bedil will show that, like<sup>4</sup> the Mujaddid, he thinks God is unapproachable, inexperienceable, inexplicable, and unknowable :

1. Armstrong, *The Intelligible Universe in Plotinus*, pp 49-64.

2. Tāt, Naṣīrud Dīn, *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*, pp 263-281, Jamāl Salībā, *Ibn Sīna*, 102-100, Faḡal Ḥaq, *Tajalliyāt-e-Ibn Sīna*, p 174. According to this Theory, God created the First Intellect. This Intellect created the Second Intellect and the first Heaven and so on to the tenth Intellect and the ninth Heaven. The last or the Active Intellect then created the world.

3. Page 154 supra.

4. Fārūqī, *the Mujaddid's Conception of Tawḥīd*, pp 79-94.

خیال وصل تو بختن دلیل غفلت ماست  
کتمان چه صرغه برد در قلمرو مهتاب

[To cherish a desire for union with you is a sign of our ignorance.

What benefit can linen derive from the moonlit domain.]

با که باید گفت بیدل ماجرای آرزو  
آنچه دل خواه مشت از عالم ادراک نیست

[Whom should I tell, O Bedil, the nature of my desire?  
What my heart desires lies beyond the range of human perception.]

بیدل ره حید از تو به راه مرحله دور است  
خاموش که آزاره<sup>1</sup> وهم اند بیانها

[O Bedil, the path of Divine praise is far from you by a hundred stages.

Be silent, because all expressions are simply the creations of fancy.]

آن کیست شود محرم اظهار و خفایت  
آئینه<sup>2</sup> هریشد عیانها و بیانها

[Who can know your known or unknown secrets?  
What is manifest or what is hidden does only mirror itself.]

In the face of Immanence and Beyondness of God expressed by Bedil in his *Ghazals*, we are forced to the conclusion that, like Rumi and Ghazzali, he believed in Panentheism<sup>2</sup> a theory which conceives of an all-embracing Divinity "in whom we live and move and have our being."

These were Bedil's speculations about the relation of creation to God. We should now consider in brief how Bedil philosophises about Divine Love. Bedil says this love is due to the beauty of the Absolute, which, according to the Qur'anic verse (lv, 29) :

كل يوم هو في شان

is every day nay every moment, displayed in a fresh glory :

هر نفس صد رنگ می گیرد عنان جلوه ش  
تا کند شوخی عرق آئینه می ریزد حیا

[Every moment a hundred hues hold the reins of His Beauty.

When face of His Vivacity has perspired, the mirror sheds modesty ]

And this love is Universal :

آتش هرست شعله اندیشه ات حگر آئینه دار ذغ هوایتو سینه ها

1. Koalife 'Abdul Hakim, *Metaphysics of Rumi*, p. 177; Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, p. 75, Smith, *Al-Ghazali*, p. 234.

2. Nicholson, R.A., *The Idea of Personality in Sufism*, p. 27; Krause, in *Metaphysics of Rumi*, p. 161, footnote.

[The liver is the worshipper of the fiery flame of thought  
about you, and

The breasts mirror the heart-sore formed in your love.]

The fire of love when once kindled in a heart is never extinguished.  
The excitement and restlessness of the lover is everlasting, and the  
lover himself is made immortal by this undying burning of the heart :

داغ عشقم نیست ابنت باتن آسائی مرا  
پیچ و تاب شعله باشد نقش پیشانی مرا

[I am love-sore, and have no liking for self-indulgence.

To fret and fume like the flame can be seen printed on my  
forehead.]

حیات جاودان خواهی گداز عشق حاصل کن  
که دل در خون شدن خاصیت تب بقا دارد

[If you want eternal life, develop the consuming qualities of  
love,

Because the heart, when it bleeds, acquires the properties of  
the water of life.]

If even a base thing comes in contact with Love, it is sublimated  
and is transformed into something very noble. "Love of the tran-  
sient beauty of the phenomenal, therefore would in this way rise to  
the noumenal origin of Beauty :

هوس نماند زبس عشق آن نگارم سوخت  
خوشم که شعله این شمع خارخارم سوخت

[No more of sensuality, as the Love of that Beauty has  
consumed me through and through.

I feel gratified as the flame of this candle has burnt all that  
remained of sensual desires.]

ماغر عشق مجازم نشه : تحقیق داد  
مشت خونم جوش مجنون می زدو منصور شد

[The cup of the love of the phenomenal had the excitement  
of the noumenal.

The handful of my blood fretted like Majnun but ultimately  
became Manşūr.]

From the above we conclude<sup>1</sup> that love has great potentialities. It is  
the cause of the grace and prosperity of the world, and also it adds  
to Divine Effulgence :

بی عشق محال است بود رونق هستی  
بی جلوه خورشید جهان نابد سیاه است

1. Majnun was fired with the love of Layla, which stands here for the love of the phenomenal, and Manşūr al-Hilāl was consumed by love of God, as he said : انا الحق (I am God), after a complete self-negation.

[Without love it is impossible for the world to have luster,  
as

Without the appearance of the sun the world is but a dark  
page.]

غافل ز شکست دل عاشق نتوان بود  
معیوری<sup>۱</sup> ایکن بهمنی حانه خراست

[One cannot be negligent of the break caused to the heart of  
the lover, for

Prosperity of the world depends upon this ruined one.]

عشق گر در جلوه آرد پرپر مقدور را  
از گداز دل دهد روغن چراغ طور را

[If love were to make a display of its potential radiance,  
By its melted heart it could lend oil to the lamp of the  
Mount Sinai<sup>1</sup>.]

As such it is far superior to the utilitarian intellect :

عقل رنگ آمیز کی گردد حریف درد عشق  
خامه<sup>۲</sup> تصویر نتواند کشیدن ناله را

[How can the fabrications of the intellect prove equal to the  
pains of Love ?

The brush of the painter can never paint groans]

In spite of this Bedil does not minimise the importance of intellect.  
He only wants that even if your intellectual powers have reached the  
highest point of perfection, you should not be devoid of love, because  
it lends elegance to all perfection :

یا هر کمال اندکی آشفتهی خورش است  
هر چند عقل کل شده ای بی جنون میاش

[With every perfection some agitation of Love looks graceful,  
Although intellectually you are equal to the *Universal Intel-*  
*ligence*, don't be without madness]

It is because of his regard for the intellect that he feels elated about  
his perception :

صد فلک ریزد بهار دامن افشاندن ام  
یک شیز گر شعله ادراک بردارد چرا

[The dust raised by my shaking off the skirt will create a  
hundred heavens,

If the flame of perception sustains me only for a moment.]

In this verse, in intellect, Bedil considers himself superior to the In-  
telligences which, according to the Neoplatonists, created all the  
Heavens and the world.

This much would do about Bedil's conception of Love. The dis-  
cussion would grow endless if we try to find out how much Bedil

1. Here a reference has been made to the revelation of Lord's Glory to the  
Mountain at the request of Moses. See al-Qur'ān, vii, 143.

borrowed here from Plato, Ibn Sina, and Rūmī (who have all much to say about Love) and what was his original contribution to it. Suffice it to say that, in view of his lofty conception of love, he joins other great thinkers on the subject on terms of equality.

Out of the many and varied topics of Metaphysics, discussed by Bedil, I shall touch briefly one more. Man's origin, his relation to the Universe, and his destiny have been the subject-matter of poets, mystics, and thinkers in all lands and in all ages. Beginning with the Greeks, right up to this day, this inexhaustible subject has been discussed by every successive writer of repute, and everyone has had something useful to say. As the Muslim writers derived inspiration from the Qur'ān, their dissertations in this connection are chiefly based on the Qur'ānic verses. About soul the holy book says :

الروح من امر ربي

[The soul is from the command of my Lord (xvii. 85).]

Again, while speaking about Adam when his body was created from clay, the Qur'ān says :

و نفخت فيه من روحي

[I (God) breathed My spirit into it (xv. 29).]

These verses speak manifestly about the Divine element in Man. Bedil too takes his cue from these verses and says :

می مژد هر نفسم پای نفس بوسیدن  
کراد بگه قدم می رسد این رنگ حدوث

[It would be proper if every moment I kiss the feet of my breath,

As this lame one of creation arrives from the holy land of Eternity.]

Bedil is fond of making mention of this Divine aspect of man, but I shall quote only two sweet verses :

زطبع نظره نمی چیز محیه نتوان یافت  
تومی تیرای اگر جوش کرده ای ما را

[In the nature of the drop nothing but the moisture of the ocean is to be found

When You have caused us to boil, it is You who will trickle.]

دی من و دلد راز ربط آب و گوهر دشتیم  
این زمان باید زقاصد دم او بر میدو سوخت

[On account of intimacy, Yesterday I and my beloved were together like the pearl and its lustre, but

Now I can do nothing except asking His Name from the messenger and burn.]

<sup>1</sup> For Plato's conception of Love see Grube, *Plato's Thought*, Eros, pp. 87-118. For Ibn Sina's, Jamil Sā'ib, *Ibn Sina*, pp. 93-97. Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, pp. 38-39. For Plato's, Ibn Sina's and Rūmī's together, Khalifa 'Abdul Hakīm, *Metaphysics of Rumi*, pp. 52-79.

Bedil, therefore, feels proud when he thinks of his Divine Origin :

موی موئی چشده برق تجسیم بی اوست :  
 طور اینر آتش فروزد کرم شب تاب منست

[Every hair of mine is the spring of His Glory.  
 If mount Sinai lights its fire, it is only my glow-worm.]

بیش از نست در آئینه من بایه نور  
 که بهر ذره و خورشید نمایم تقسیم

[In my mirror the stock of light is much more than  
 That I should distribute among every atom and the Sun.]

Surrounded on all sides by Matter, Man becomes a prey to forgetfulness, and he turns his attention to those objects which attract his eyes by their glamour. Bedil, therefore, asks man to understand himself, as, according to the famous saying :

من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه

he who knows his own self, knows God. Some relevant verses of Bedil may now be considered :

سحر نشه فطرتی ته خدا که از چه غفلتی  
 نفسی صرف جوش کن از خم چرخ سرکشا

[You are the morning of the excitement of Eternity.  
 What negligence keeps you under the dust ?

Employ a moment in exciting yourself

And rise head and shoulders above the curve of the sky.]

منم است اگر هویت کشد که به سیر صرف بمن در آ  
 نور غنچه کم نه دیده ای در دل کشا بچمن در آ

[It would be unjust if you vainly desire to have a walk through  
 the cypresses and the Jassamines.

You are not sprouted inferior to the bud. Open your heart  
 and walk into the garden.]

کدام رمز و چه اسرار خویش را دریاب  
 که هر چه هست نهان غیر آشکار تو نیست

[There are no mysteries and no secrets. Find yourself,  
 For what is hidden is not different to what is manifest in you.]

Bedil repeatedly brings the vast potentialities of Man to our notice :

حیف نشکا فتم برده دل دانه بودست مهر خرمینها

[Sorry, we did not tear the veil of the heart.

A grain had sealed a heap of corn.]

دل آسوده با شور امکان در نفس دارد  
 گهر دزدیده است این جا عنان موج دریا را

[Our quiet heart has engaged within itself a world of uproar.

A pearl has stolen here the reins of the boisterous waves of  
 the ocean.]

از دل گرمی توان در کائنات آتش زدن  
سز چندی گنجشم و یک شرر داریم ما

[By a warm heart, the entire Universe can be set on fire.  
We have material for many furnaces, although we have only one spark.]

In view of his noble origin and immense potentialities, Man has been asked to cherish noble and lofty aims, to be engaged in a continuous and everlasting struggle, and to avoid evil and vain desires :

ای نشان بگذر ز چرخ و لا مکن تسخیر باش  
چند در زیو سیر کردن نهان شمشیر را

[O my walls, cross the heavens and conquer the Placeless.  
How long will you conceal your sword under the shield ?]

ای طلب در وصل هم مشکن غبار جستجو  
آتشم گرزنده می خواهی ز پا نشن مرا

[O quest, let not the dust of search settle down even at the time of Union.

I am fire, and if you want me to be alive, let me not be put down ]

به بی آراسی است آسایش ذوق طلب بیدل  
خوش آن رهرو که خار پای خود فهمید منزل را

[O, Bedil, the spirit of quest feels comforted in restlessness.  
How fortunate is the traveller who thinks that his destination is only a thorn in his feet.]

زبزم وصل خواهشایی بیجایم برد ما را  
چو گوهر موج ما بیرون دریا می برد ما را

[Vain desires take us out of the assembly of Union  
Like the pearl our own wave takes us out of the ocean.]

The universe is neither superior to nor standing against Man. Bedil, like Iqbal, believes that 'all this immensity of matter constitutes a scope for the self-realisation of the spirit.' Establishment of proper relationship with the material world has thus been taught, because in this way inner powers of life are unfolded and Man rises above his environment :

چه فلک چه ذره ناتوان به هوائی شوق تر پریشان  
تر بهار و عالم رنگ و بو همه آشیای سهو تو

[Whether the lofty sky or the lowly atom, everything flatters its wings in longing for you

You are the spring, and the whole of this world of colour and smell is the nest for your development.]

نه فلک آغوش شوق انتظار آباده است  
کای نهال باغ برونگی و آب و گل برآ

[The nine<sup>1</sup> heavens with their open lap are waiting for you, saying :

"O thou plant of the garden of colourlessness,<sup>2</sup> come out of this mire of the world.]

In view of the vital importance of Man in the Universe, Bedil says that when Man will cease to exist the universe also will be no more :

بی وجود ما همین هستی عدم خواهد شد  
تا درین آئینه پیدا ایم عالم است

[Without our presence this existence will become non-existence. So long as we appear in this mirror, the world will continue to exist.]

If there are obstructions in the world and tribulations, Man should not be overawed or discouraged, because these only unfold his nobility. He must know that it is only the hardships which ultimately bring peace and tranquillity. Bedil makes another suggestion also. He says that a man, who has realised his self, is totally immune from these misfortunes :

حوادث عین آسایش بود آزاده مشرب را  
که موج بحر دارد ز شکست خویش حویرها

[For a man, having independence of spirit, calamities bring peace of mind,

Because the wave of the ocean when it breaks makes pearls.]

زعافیت نتوان مژده کشا کش یافت  
بدل شکستی بگرهست قتیع باب طب

[The happy news of deliverance cannot be had from a comfortable life,

If there is a breach in your heart ask for the opening of the door.]

ای طایب سلامت از آفات نگری  
در ساحل آتش است تو گشتی بر در آب

[O Thou, who art in search of safety, do not shun calamities. There is fire on the shore, hence take your boat to the waters.]

حوادث مژده این است اگر دل جمع شد یکن  
گهر افسانه دانه شورش امواج جیحون را

[O Bedil, if your mind is composed, the disasters bring the good news of peace.

With the pearl, the uproar caused by the waves of Oxus, is only a myth.]

1 The nine heavens are :

فلک اقصی، فلک بروج، فلک زحل، فلک مریخ، فلک مشتری، فلک الشمس،  
فلک زهره، فلک عطارد، فلک قمر

2. Divine Essence divested of Attributes.



These are instructions of practical nature and quite in keeping with Bedi's positively healthy philosophy of life. As regards Man's destiny he says :

چون سبیل یغودانه سوی بحر می وریم  
آگه ند ایم دست که دارد عنان ما

[Like the torrent we are helplessly running towards the sea.  
We are not aware whose hand holds our reins.]

تا قیامت جوهر و آئینه می جوشد بهم  
از ببارم پاک نتوان کرد دامن شام

[Till the day of resurrection the mirror and its lustre would  
agitate together.]

Your skirt cannot be cleaned of our dust.]

Union with God is the final destiny of Man. After descent Bedi is hopeful of ascent towards Absolute Reality.

These were only a layman's references to various problems of Metaphysics discussed by Bedi. I simply wanted to introduce this aspect of the poet to the literary world. It appears that Bedi had made a vast study of Islamic philosophy, for, in his *Ghazals*, we find references now and again to the Necessary and the Contingent (واجب و ممکن), the Eternal and the Temporal (تدویم و حادث), transcendence and anthropomorphism (تزیه و تشبه), Unity and Plurality (وحدت و کثرت), substance and accident (جوهر و عرض), matter and form (مورث و صورت), etc. Salāḥud Dīn,<sup>1</sup> a modern scholar of Afghānistān, in his tract, *Afāz-e-Shāhī*, tried to explain a few philosophical verses of Bedi, but an attempt like this can prove fruitful if all the topics, dealt with by Bedi, are systematically elaborated in an independent work. Bedi's Ethical philosophy, too, is a brilliant chapter of his writings—a chapter which impresses us very much on account of its magnitude also. But this is not a place to deal with his Ethics. As the basic points, about the Mysticism and Metaphysics of Bedi, are known, an idea about his Ethics can be easily formed.

At this stage it would be advisable if an attempt is made to judge the personality which will be the result of Bedi's philosophy. As soon as we start meditating in this direction, our imagination pictures a man with a sharp intellect ruled by selfless love. Though humble in spirit, he is fully aware of his noble origin. He works in the world courageously, facing all the hardships manfully to actualise the vast potentialities of his self. He shuns all worldly prizes, honours, and pleasures and, with a singleness of purpose, he struggles ceaselessly

1. Salāḥud Dīn was for some time the Afghān Consul in Delhi, when India was not partitioned. For the explanations referred to here, see his *Afāz-e-Shāhī*, pp. 16-36.

to conquer the Infinite. The universe is subservient to him. He uses the universe, as a young bird would its nest, for the development and unfolding of his inner capacities, and, as soon as his self is fully developed, he will seek union with the Absolute. A man, with keen intellectual powers, and a tremendous dynamic force, mastering the universe and then seeking union with God—this Bedil has in view. So acute is Bedil's awareness for his object that, if it is not realised, his very self and the universe appear illusory to him, for it is only the Absolute Reality that counts, and it is only because of contact with It that Bedil's Man begins to have a goal and an end.

This was the speculative side of Bedil's thought. We should now briefly consider the socio-economic situation in his Ghazals.

Bedil was born in 1131 A.M. during the prosperous reign of Shah Jahan, and died in 1133 A.M. during the reign of Muhammad Shah when Mughal power was declining in India. He saw four regular wars of succession and also witnessed the ghastly incidents in which the Barcha Sayid brothers were the principal actors. He observed that during these upheavals the foundations of the society were shaken and the economic make-up of the country was shattered. The autocratic society, laboriously built up by the Mughal Emperors up to Aurangzeb, but crumbling during the last days of Bedil. It had already been undermined by prosperity continuing for generations, but successive upheavals tore a number of yards of values apart. Thus Bedil passed not a minor part of his life in the degenerate, demoralised, and pompous Mughal society, which was drifting rapidly towards its final extinction. As a sage and philosopher he thought deeply about this sad state of affairs and tried to reform his society. His mysticism and his philosophy assume quite a new pattern when viewed in this context. He addressed the rulers, the aristocracy, and the common folk and warned them of their consequences. He informed them of the sad consequences of their crimes and persuaded them to adopt healthier ways. His ghazals of history such as the sayings of Bedil are very important because they make available the first-hand information of the social conditions prevailing in those days.

To the rulers, in general, he said that the glory of kingship was shortlived:

یست در رنگ اعتبار ثبات آبرو ها چو بویخ در گزراست

[The colour has not the quality of durability.

All dignity passes away like the wave.]

He told them there was no difference between an emperor and an ordinary man. On the other hand, he asked an emperor grows ignoble and inferior, because he loses even the colour of the crown he wears:

در حباب و موج این دریا تفاوت بیش نیست  
اندکی باد است در سر صاحب اورنگ را

[There is not much difference between the bubbles and the waves of this ocean.

The enthroned monarch has only some air in his head.]

After the death of Shāh 'Ālam in 1124 A.H. (1712 A.D.) when Jahāndār Shāh ascended the throne and gave himself up to voluptuousness and carousing, Bedil was very sorry to see such a brainless monarch seated on the glorious Peacock Throne. He said :

زی منغزی شکوه سلطنت شد تنگ کناسی  
بجائی استخوان گه خورده می گردد هما اینجا

[Through incapacity imperial grandeur has been reduced to the disgrace of a sweeper.

Instead of the bones one who eats faeces becomes Phoenix here.]

The entire Ghazal in which this verse occurs censures those times and the ungenerous and silly emperor.

But Bedil's invectives grow very fierce when he addresses the aristocrats. Before him no poet, except Sa'di, had discharged this sad duty so courageously and boldly. Bedil talks about the pomp and show, the kettle-drums and the bugles, and the vaulted chambers and the palaces of the Mughal aristocrats, and tells them that if they thought these things were to last for ever, they were sadly mistaken :

این است اگر کروثر طاق و سرایت  
بنیاد غبار بهوا رفته متین است

[If this is the splendour of your vaulted chambers and palaces,

Then the foundations of the dust flying in the air have become secure ]

The aristocrats were in the habit of making a display of their splendour. Bedil told them it was extremely harrowing :

رعنائی تعجیل مست خراش دلهاست  
هرگاه پنجه بازید شد ناخن آزماست

[The elegance of splendour proudly harrows the hearts.

Whenever the hand is sportive it uses the nails.]

Most of them were light-headed and talked boastfully. They were mentally of a low calibre and did not thank God for His favours :

شود کم طرف در نعمت زشکر ایزدی غافل  
که بسری مهر خاوشیست چون با خرد هاش را

[In prosperity the pany intellect becomes thankless to God,  
As like the cup satiety is the seal of silence for its mouth.]  
They were base and vile and thought that the engraving on the  
stone in the ring (نقش نگین) was the height of glory :

بجزت عالمی جان می کند آیا زین غافل  
که در نقش نگین عراج می باشد دامت را

[For honour the entire world has become crazy, but it forgets  
That it is meanness which finds the height of glory in the  
engraving on the stone.]

On account of their love for the worldly riches, they did not care for  
supreme virtue of Faqr. Also as they were proud of their elevated  
ranks they behaved like Antichrist in religious affairs :

عرشی دین حق میر در پیش مغروران جاء  
معنی مهدی بر نمی آید ازین دجالها

[Do not talk about the True Faith before those who are  
proud of their ranks.

The exertions of Mahdī cannot be expected from Antichrist.]

They were incurably negligent of their duties. There were rude,  
ill-tempered, ill-natured, and vindictive. They were full of evil  
thoughts, their countenance was always sour, and they indulged in  
severe and harsh talk :

کج اندیشان ندارند آگهی از راستان بدل  
ز نگشت است یکسر میل کوری چشم خادم را

[The evil-thinking persons are absolutely ignorant of the  
truthful people, Bedil.

Through the finger the eye of the ring has completely the  
needle of blindness.]

بصرف ناملاتم زحمت دلها بشو بدل  
که هر جا جنس شکی هست باشد دشمن مینا

[O Bedil, do not trouble the hearts by your harsh words,  
For wherever there is a stone, it is enemy of the flask.]

In addition to this last<sup>1</sup> was consuming their soul and body, so much

1. About the luxurious ways and voluptuousness of those days we learn a good deal from the book *Muraqqa'-e-Dehli*, which was written by Nawāb Dargāh Qulī Khān, during the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Shāh. We learn from the book that once Wazīr-ul-mamālūk 'Ismā'īluddaula gave drinking cups, etc. worth Rs. 70,000 to a dancing girl named Bahis-e-Fīlāwār (p. 75). It has been told that the courtiers were sodomists (pp. 27, 28, 33, 70-73), and that they celebrated days when nothing but luxury and gratification of sensual pleasures was the order (p. 33). For this there were separate quarters where the censor could not go. One of such places was Kasalpara, and about it Nawāb Dargāh Qulī remarks (p. 33) :

هوائی شمعوت آمیز است و فضائیش بام انگیز

Its air is lustful and its atmosphere incites sexual intercourse.]  
Women too had such like places which were rendezvous for meetings with lovers.

so that amongst them could be found passively sodomistical persons :

بیدل چه ذلتست که فردون منقلب  
در طبع مرد خاصیت زن نهاده است

[O, Bedil, what meanness it is that the changed times  
Have placed the quality of a woman in the nature of man.]

Besides, they oppressed the people. They were callously cruel. Their  
glib tongue also had the venom of vindictiveness :

ترمتی گفتار ظالم بی فسون کینه نیست  
صنعتی دارد حسد از شعله پروردن در آب

[The soft speech of the cruel man is never devoid of vindic-  
tiveness.

When jealousy rears a flame in the water, it is only a  
subtle art.]

Cruelty was prevalent and Bedil said pathetically :

بترس از آه مظلومان که هنگام دعا کردن  
اجابت از در حق بهر استقبال می آید

[Be afraid of the sighs of the oppressed ones, for when they  
pray

Acceptation rushes forward from the Divine door to wel-  
come their prayers.]

As this undying verse has been quoted<sup>1</sup> by Aurangzeb, it shows it  
was composed by Bedil when that Emperor was still alive and that  
the officers in the service of that God-fearing Emperor, too, were  
oppressors. It was because of this widespread oppression and politi-  
cal instability that Bedil wrote :

بال بر بال شهرت عفتاست رنگ آرام در [مانده] ما

[In our times the colour of peace has winged off and disap-  
peared like the fabulous Phoenix.]

For the common folk Bedil had a warm corner. Although a  
man of elevated genius and respected by the most elevated people  
of his times, he loved the lowest class and the life of poverty (فقر).  
He was moved whenever he saw the sad and quiet faces of the poor,

Nāgal was one of those places, and there, on the seventh day of every month,  
women used to go in large numbers in their best make-up (p. 39). The author says:

اگر غریب وارد آن نزعت کند گردد فوراً بهجت می رسد

[If a stranger comes to that elegant place, he will immediately pair.]

This book was written when in 1151 A.H. Nādir Shāh, the Persian soldier of  
fortune, came to Dehl and Nawāb Dargāh Quli Khān was there in the service  
of Nizām-ul-Mulk Āsif Jāh (Muragga', Preface, pp. 15-17, 20, and Khazānā-  
'Amira, p. 223).

If such a society could not resist its enemies and fell an easy prey to them, it  
was but natural !

and whenever they were vociferous in expressing their complaints, he justified them :

هجوم شکوه هر کس ز درد مفلسی باشد  
نخیزد ناله از وی تا بود منزع استخوانش را

[The uproarious complaints of all are due to the pangs of poverty.

So long as there is pith in its bones the reed will not moan.]

He advised the poor not to be dismayed, and also asked them not to take their grievances to the hard-hearted rich. When such were the ways of the society he had a hazy conception of some extreme action :

زندگی در بند و قید رسم و عادت مردن است  
دست دست تست بشکن این طلسم ننگه

[Life is but wearing out in the bondage of customs,

You have got your hands. Why don't you break this spell?]

This was the human side of Bedil, and with this I have finished what I had to say about Ghazals. Now I give below translation of only three Ghazals of Bedil. I regret the translation lacks the flavour of the original

## 1

خاکسار تو طبلدن کند آواز چرا  
چرس آبله بیرون دهد آواز چرا  
جیب حسنت گره از پیضه فولاد کشود  
دهد ما بجمال تو نشد باز چرا  
دل بدست تور ما از تو دگر مانع چیست  
خودنمایی نکند آئینه پرداز چرا  
میل بنیاد جهان است بطر واک کردن  
هوش ما هم نشود خانه در اندر چرا  
ساز بینایی دل گر نه عروج آهنگ است  
نفس از بیم طوش می شود آوار چرا  
گر نه ساز بست یقیں رابطه هر دم و زبر  
شکوه شد زمزمه طاع غاسار چرا  
بی نیازی اگر از غیب و هنر مستغنی است  
حیرت آینه دارد لب غمناز چرا  
نیست جز خودشکنی دامن اقبال بند  
آخرای مشت غبار این همه پرواز چرا  
بیدل آینه معشوق نما در بر تست  
این نیاز بکه تو داری شود ناز چرا

[Why should your humble slave be in violent agitation?

Why should the bel-loke blister have a sound?

The breast of your charms removed the knot from the steel-egg, but

Why my eyes have not opened at your beauty?

My heart is in your hands and I belong to you. Then what prevents you,  
 Who are busy with the mirror, from self-display?  
 Your opening the eye undermines the foundations of the world like a torrent, then  
 Why should not the structure of our reason come tumbling down?  
 If the instrument of the restlessness of heart is not producing a resounding symphony  
 Why the breath, being afraid of agitation, is changing into sound?  
 If faith does not keep order in the high and low tones of the instrument,  
 Why the complaint has changed into the song of ill-luck?  
 If that, who is free from want, is indifferent to faults and virtues,  
 Why does the bewilderment of the mirror have a tale-bearer lip?  
 The skirt of glory cannot be held aloft except by self-renunciation,  
 O thou handful of dust, why then so much of flight?  
 The beloved showing mirror is in your bosom, Bedil, then  
 Why this humility, that you have, should not change into pride?]

## 2

|                                       |                                     |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| چشم تو بجان من گرینم نظر خندد         | خارم بیچمن نازد عیسم نه هنر خندد    |
| تا چند بر آن عارض بر رخسار نگاه من    | از حلقه گیسویت گلهائی نظر خندد      |
| در کشور مشتاقان بی پروا دیدارت        | خورشید چرا تابد مهر چه سحر خندد     |
| دل میچکد از چشم چون ابر اگر گریم      | جان بی دمد از املت چون برق اگر خندد |
| یا اهل نما هر کس دارد بر یک رنگی      | باید که برنگ شمع از رفتن سر خندد    |
| در کارگاه خوبی یارب چه ترا کتبه است   | صد کوه بخود باید ناموئی کمر خندد    |
| در جوی دم تینت شیرینی آبی هست         | کر جوش حلاوتها زخمش بشکر خندد       |
| سایان طرب سهل است زین نقد که ما داریم | صبح از دو نفس فرصت بر خود چقدر خندد |
| هر شبم ازین گلشن تمهید گئی دارد       | یا گریه مداوا کن چنانکه اثر خندد    |
| از سحری عوس بگذر بیدل که درین گلشن    | گل نیز اگر خندد از پهلوی در خندد    |

[If your eye turns cheerfully towards me even from its corners,

My thorns shall assume a haughty air before the garden,  
 and my defects shall laugh at the virtues.

How long on those cheeks, contrary to the will of my glances,

Shall the flower-like eyes glow, out of the curls of your tresses?

In the realm of the lovers, without a ray from your face,  
 Why should the sun shine, and why should the morning  
 dawn?  
 If I weep like the cloud, my heart trickles down my eyes,  
 and  
 When your ruby lips smile like lightning, my soul sprouts  
 from them.  
 Everyone is sincere to the annihilated ones  
 Like the candle, one should laugh when the head is gone.  
 O God! What subterfuges are there in the world of comeliness?  
 (The fair ones).  
 Stretch themselves equal to the height of a hundred peaks  
 and then the hair of their waist appears smilingly.  
 In the stream of the blade of your sword there is sweetness  
 of water,  
 Because on account of excessive sweetness the wound caused  
 by it laughs at the sugar.  
 By whatever cash we have it is easy to enjoy ourselves.  
 How much does the morning laugh with but a couple of  
 breaths?  
 Every dewdrop in this garden is a flower in the making  
 Be courteous to weeping so that it might influence (the be-  
 loved).  
 Give up greed, Bedil, for in this garden,  
 Even when the flower laughs mockingly, it does so on account  
 of having a golden side.

بسته‌ام چشم امید از الفت اهل جهنم  
 کرده ام پندار چو گوهر در دل دریا کران  
 بسکه پستی در کمین دارد پنهانی اعتبار  
 بعد ازین دیوارهای سایه خواهد شد عیان  
 از تجمل سفله را ساز بزرگی بشکل است  
 خاک از سامان بالیدن نگردد آسان  
 ای تمایت خیال اندیش تصویر محال  
 سیر خود کن دیگر از غنا چه می خوئی نشان  
 نارسائی جاده بر منزل جمعیت است  
 از شکست بل می بالد حضور آشیان  
 در تعبیر از حنون با سیه بختان می‌رس  
 حلقه زنجیر گیسو بر نمی دارد فغان  
 عاشق از اهل هوس در صبر دارد امتیاز  
 کرده بد آئینه و ششم بجهت امتحان  
 رنگین با رب چه سامان داشته از درد و دغ  
 کاین زمانم بی دهد آتش سراغ کاروان  
 عیشی دارد عدم فرسای اجری بن  
 جوش بهتاب است هر جا پنبه شد ترکستان



کوشش گردون علاج بی پریهائیم نکرد  
 مشکل است از سرو گلچیدن به سعی باغبان  
 در فضائی دل مقام عزت و خواری یکيست  
 نيست صدر خانه آئينه شير از آستان  
 بی رواجیهای عرض احتیاجم خوار کرد  
 آب رو چندانکه می ریزم نمی گردد روان  
 صبح این شنگاه ای از سیر خود غافل باش  
 یک نفس پیدائیت از عالمی دارد نشان  
 چشم او را نیست بیدل سیری از خون ریختن  
 جام می از پاده پیمای نکردد سر گران

[I have lost all hopes of love from the people, and  
 Like the pearl I have found a corner in the heart of the  
 ocean.

As the base also aims at having a structure of dignity  
 After the walls made of shadow would appear.  
 By splendour the base cannot make a display of greatness.  
 The dust when it rises up cannot become a sky.  
 Your desires vainly think of the impossible,  
 Have a journey through yourself. Why do you make a  
 search for the Phoenix?

Helplessness is the direct route to the destination of peace.  
 When the wings break prospects of having a nest become  
 bright.

Except bewilderment, ask for nothing from the madness of  
 such unlucky persons as we are.

The rings of the chain of tresses produce no sound.  
 In patience the lover distinguishes himself from the sensual  
 people.

The mirror and the dewdrop have been tested in bewilder-  
 ment.

O God, how much of pain and sadness the departed ones had?  
 Even now the fire relates the tale of the caravan.

If my parts have rubbed themselves into non-existence  
 I am full of delight, as

Wherever cotton changes into linen there is a flood of  
 moonlight.

Even the sky could not cure my winglessness.

It is impossible to pluck flowers from the cypress by the  
 efforts of the gardener.

In the domain of heart the position of dignity and of  
 dishonour is the same.

The threshold of the house of mirrors is seen high up.

I am sad because my making requests receives no attention

However I shed the water of my face it does not run.

You are the dawn of this (agreeable) scintillating assembly,  
don't neglect a peep into yourself.

If you become manifest even for a while, you will display a  
unique world.

The beloved's eye, O Bedil, does not get tired of shedding  
blood.

The cup of wine is never intoxicated by drinking ceaselessly.]

The poet who wrote such excellent verse, of supreme literary value, having the greatest number of greatest ideas, could not fail to have followers after his death. In India, as well as in Central Asia, there have been many poets who took pride in imitating Bedil. About the poets of the latter<sup>1</sup> region, I had occasion to speak in the third chapter, and I should, therefore, confine myself here to the Indian poets alone. Leaving aside the second-rate<sup>2</sup> poets I shall talk about the two topmost ones, i.e. Ghālib and Iqbal, whose fame has crossed the frontiers of this subcontinent, and whose talent is recognised by all and sundry.

Asadullah Khān Ghālib (1212-1235 A.H.) was the renowned poet of Persian and Urdu, and his fame is growing daily, particularly because of his Urdu Diwān. His earliest biographer and pupil, Altāf Husayn Hāli, says<sup>3</sup> that in his childhood Ghālib followed Bedil. The two Maṣnavis, *ḥikmat* and *ḥikmat* which were in Ghālib's possession,<sup>4</sup> bear the date 1231 A.H. This shows that Ghālib was nineteen years old when these Maṣnavis were with him. Ghālib himself has also admitted<sup>5</sup> that he studied and imitated Bedil (and others of his type) till he was twenty-five years old. He adds that when the literary productions of that period were collected, a large Diwān was the result. But as at that time Ghālib did not have sufficient skill in writing poetry, and also as he followed Bedil mostly in finding<sup>6</sup> original conceits, which again at that age could not be easily reached by him, he was embarrassed. His verses became extremely abstract, and he had to say:

طرز بیدل میں رچنے لکھتا      لہذا اتنے خان قیامت ہے

[Writing of lyrics in the style of Bedil,

Is extremely difficult, O Asadullah Khān.]

This phase of Ghālib's earlier attempts at versification makes a sad

1. Page 152 supra.

2. For example, Ṣabbāl and 'Alvi, mentioned by Altāf Husayn Hāli in *Tarjuma-ye Ghālib*, p. 162.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

4. Page 171, supra.

5. *Nurkha-e-Hamīd* (a 'ol Ghālib's Diwān), p. 14.

6. *Ibid.*

story, mainly because the lovers of Ghālīb ascribe his earlier abstruseness entirely to Bedil, and consequently a bias exists against our poet. I shall therefore make a brief statement of the positive gains of Ghālīb resulting from the intensive study of Bedil:

1. Ghālīb says:

آمد هر جا سخن ز طریح باغ تازه دلی شد  
معجز رنگ بهار ایوانی<sup>1</sup> بدل پستد آیا

[Asad, wherever in the verse a new garden has been grown  
(it is because)

I like Bedil's style which produces (colourful, spring)]

It is a very important point pointing definitely to the influence of Bedil on the creative imagination of Ghālīb. Dr. 'Abdur Raḥmān Bijnauri says<sup>1</sup> that at every page of Ghālīb's *Diwān* there are verses which an artist can express in colour. This was actually done by 'Abdur Raḥmān Chughtāl who brought out a very popular pictorial edition<sup>2</sup> of Ghālīb's *Diwān*. Now, if the above-mentioned verse of Ghālīb is to be believed, which we must, this was the influence of Bedil. In addition to what I have said in this chapter about Bedil's sense of Beauty, a perusal of the *Maṣnavī* *طور معرفت* and *محیط اعظم*, which we know were studied by Ghālīb, establishes the fact beyond doubt that Bedil's imagination is ablaze when he is describing beautiful things. His *سپاره* (description of spring) in *محیط اعظم* expressed in a running glowing metre is a thing of everlasting beauty. And in *طور معرفت*, which is a description of the scenery, during the rainy season, of a hill called *Bairāt*, Bedil has said in all subtleness:

مزن بر سنگ او ز تبار دستی      که مینا در بغل خوابیده مستی

[Don't strike your hands against its stones,

For a drunk Beauty is asleep there with a flask under the arm]

When Bedil has such a charming expression of the 'Beautiful,' the aesthetic taste of Ghālīb must have been deeply influenced by it.

2. But beauty does not exist in thought alone; it appears in expression also. Similes, metaphors, combinations of words, diction are all influenced by it. Examples of Bedil's graceful expression have been cited above. Now if we go through Dr. Bijnauri's<sup>3</sup> inspired comments about Ghālīb's peculiarities of style, we find that Bedil's characteristics are also the same. Dr. Bijnauri has cited Ghālīb's new

1. 'Abdur Raḥmān Bijnauri *Nurkhat-e-Hamidiya*, p. 53, Preface.

2. *as Nurkhat-e-Ghālīb*, the pictorial edition of *Diwān-e-Ghālīb*, brought out by 'Abdur Raḥmān Chughtāl.

3. 'Abdur Raḥmān Bijnauri, *Nurkhat-e-Hamidiya*, Preface.

combinations<sup>1</sup> of words, e.g. شهر رنگ - زهر زرو etc. etc., and if they are compared with Bedil's combinations,<sup>2</sup> we observe striking similarities. Such like combinations abound also in محط علم and طور معرفت of Bedil. We tread still surer grounds when we read Hālī saying<sup>3</sup> that in Ghālib's Persian prose, elements of Bedil's style have been incorporated.

3. Again Bedil said<sup>4</sup> :

شاعری عبارت از معنی تازه پاییست

[Poesy is synonymous with finding out original conceits

And Ghālib has said :<sup>5</sup>

بھائی شاعری معنی آفرینی ہے قافیہ پیدائی نہیں

[Brother ! Poesy means creating original conceits and not only bringing together mutually rhyming verses.]

Who can say this sentiment of Ghālib was not strengthened as a result of imitating Bedil?

4. Finally, Alṭāf H. s.ain Hālī says that, although to escape the charge of abstruseness Ghālib found refuge in Nazīf and other poets of his type, yet for a long time Ghālib was inspired by the spirit of Bedil. We know about Bedil's mystical speculations and his notions about the origin and destiny of Man. When Dr. 'Abdur Rahmān Bijnauri discusses this phase of Ghālib's thought, he poses the question: Who knows from where Ghālib imbibed this spirit? Had the learned Doctor made researches about the suggestive remark of Hālī, quoted above, he would have certainly agreed with Hālī that it was indeed Bedil who inspired Ghālib in this respect. Fuller implications of this statement would be more clearly brought home to us, if the following parallel verses of Bedil and Ghālib are studied :

Bedil :

ہمہ مخیپ است شہود اینجا نیست  
جہاہ انخفاست نمود اینجا نیست  
نتوان حلوۃ مطلق دیدن  
آنکہ این پردہ کشود اینجا نیست  
بہ ہستی تو امید است نیستی ہارا  
کہ گزند اند اگر هیچ نیست اللہ است

[Everything is invisible here and nothing visible.

All is hidden, nothing is apparent.

1. 'Abdur Rahmān Bijnauri, *Nuskhā-e-Hawāidya*, Preface, p. 43.

2. Page 190 *supra*.

3. Hālī, *Yādgar-e-Ghālib*, p. 310.

4. Sarāghush, *Kalāmātush Shu'arā*, p. 34.

5. Hālī, *Yādgar-e-Ghālib*, p. 124.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 310.

7. 'Abdur Rahmān Bijnauri, *Nuskhā-e-Hawāidya*, p. 103.

It is impossible to see Absolute Beauty.  
That who drew the curtain is not here  
Because of your Existence all non-existence has hopes.  
For it is said "There is Allah when there is nothing"

Qālib:

مے غروبِ شمس جی کو سمجھنے ہیں ہم شہر  
ہیں خواب میں هنوز چر جاگے ہیں خواب میں  
[It is hidden what we consider to be apparent.  
Those who have awoke in sleep are still asleep  
تہ تھا کچھ تو خدا تھا کچھ نہ ہوتا تو خدا ہوتا  
ڈوبا مجھ کو ہونے نے نہ ہوتا میں تو کیا ہوتا]

When everything was non-existent, God existed, and had  
there been nothing, God would have been there.  
This existence has been my undoing. What would I have  
been (God) ; if I had not been.]

No impartial and unbiased scholar can overlook the importance of these positive gains in the development of Qālib's genius. Although, in order to secure facility of expression, Qālib turned to poets like 'Urī and Nazir, yet his earlier contact with Bedil, extending over a long period of ten<sup>1</sup> years, gave a definite pattern to his thoughts and expression which later enabled him to reach the dizzy heights of glory.

As regards Dr. Mihammed Iqbal (1873-1938 A.D.), the well-known poet whose Philosophy of Self has earned him an undying fame, one can assert indisputably that right from his early age to the end of his life, he held Bedil in high esteem and derived much benefit from the diction and philosophy of that poet. He has twice quoted Bedil in his works, once<sup>2</sup> in *Bang-e-Darā*, published in 1924 A.D., and inserted the following couplet of Bedil:

ہا ہر کمال اندکی آشفتنی خوش است  
ہر چند عقل کل شدہ ای بی جنوں مباح

and again<sup>3</sup> in *Zarb-e-Kasb*, published in 1936 A.D., inserting Bedil's following couplet:

دل اگر می داشت وسعت بی نشان برد این چمن  
رنگ می بیرون نشست از بسکہ مینا رنگ بود

[Had your heart been expansive this garden would not have had any vestige.

As the flask had little capacity the colour of the wine remained outside.]

1. *Narkha-e-Hawāṣṣa*, p. 14. Qālib himself admits here that he imitated Bedil for ten years, beginning when he was 15 and leaving when twenty five.

2. Iqbal, *Bang-e-Darā*, p. 278.

On both the occasions he talks very respectfully about our poet and in *Bāng-e-Darā* he calls him *مرشد کامل*. In his *Lectures and Malfūẓāt* too Bedil has been mentioned. In the former<sup>1</sup> Bedil has been called "Our Great Poet Thinker," and in the latter<sup>2</sup> Iqbāl appreciated Bedil's dynamic mysticism in preference to the Philosophy of Asadullah Khān Ghālib, which, Iqbāl says, is inclined to be static. From what we have said so far it is manifest that both Iqbāl and Bedil share each other's hatred for dry as dust intellectualism, belief in the vast potentialities of Man, and love for activism. These facts will become all the more clear if a comparative study of the following verses of both the great poets is made :

*Bedil :*

چه لازم با خرد همخانه بودن  
 در روزی می تون دیونه بودن  
 [It is not essential to be always with reason,  
 One should also be mad for a couple of days.]  
 حین نشگفتیم پرده دل  
 دانه بودند سهر خرمنها  
 [Sorry we did not tear open the veil of the heart.  
 A grain had scaled the granary.]  
 ای فغان بگذر ز چرخ ولا مکان تسخیر باش  
 چندی در زیر سهر کردن نهان شمشیر را  
 [O, my cries, cross the heavens and conquer the Placeless.  
 How long will you keep your sword hidden under the shield ?]  
 بساز حادثه هم نغمه بودن آرام است  
 اگر زمانه قیامت کند تو طوفان باش  
 [Being in tune with the instrument of the accidents brings  
 peace.  
 If the times create tumult be a storm.]

*Iqbāl :*

اچھا ہے دل کے ساتھ رہے پاسن عقل  
 لیکن کبھی کبھی اسے تنہا بھی چھوڑ دے  
 [It is preferable that reason should be with the heart as  
 guardian.

But sometimes it should leave it alone.]

حسن کا گنج گرانمایہ تجھے مل جاتا  
 تو نے فرهاد نہ کھودا کبھی ویرانہ دل  
 [You would have got a priceless treasure of Beauty,  
 Had you, O Farhad, dug the wilderness of heart.]

در دشت جنوں من جبریل رہوں صیدی  
 یزدن بکشد آور ای همت مردانه

1. Iqbāl, *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 11.

2. Iqbāl, *Malfūẓāt*. Awwar, 'Abdullah, *The Poet of the East*, p. 314.

[In the waste-land of my madness the angel Gabriel is but a  
worthless prey.

O, high minded courage, catch God in your noose ]

گذر جا بن کے سبیل تند رو کوہ و بیابان سے  
گلستانِ راہ میں آئے تو جویِ نفسہ خواں ہو جا

[Pass through the hills and the deserts like the swift torrent:  
but

If there is a garden in your way, be a sweet singing stream.

A strange identity of temperament, thought, and outlook makes itself apparent from these verses of both the poets. A detailed comparative study of the life and works of each one of them is bound to be more fruitful, but I must be content here with saying that both of them tried to reform and regenerate the society, in which they were born, by their soul-stirring verse and their life-giving thought. It was because of this that Iqbal, who came after Bedil, was full of praise for his forerunner in thought.

Still there is another phase of Iqbal's indebtedness to Bedil, to which S. A. Vahid, a learned writer on Iqbal's Art and Thought, draws our attention. He says<sup>1</sup>:

How beautifully Iqbal has sung of his philosophy of ego — his graceful and melodious verse. It needed a superb Artist to achieve this, but it must be remarked that Iqbal's task was rendered easier by poets like Hafiz, Bedil, and Ghalib. So far as I know, Hafiz was the first great poet to discuss philosophy and sociology, as he knew them, as well as politics in his lyrics. This trend continued in Persian till we find in 'Urfi and Baki abstract philosophical subjects discussed with the grace and the charm of which only a Persian Ghazal is capable.

This similarity of diction in Bedil and Iqbal, was first of all detected by the poet Akbar Husain Akbar (d. 1911 A.D.) of Allahabad who while praising Iqbal, wrote<sup>2</sup> to a friend:

What a fine expression. Even Bedil would be enamoured of it. Iqbal himself wrote to a poet named Ghulam Husain Shkir Siddiqi of Gujranwala, Panjab, to study Bedil in order to improve his diction. This shows how much the charm of Iqbal's expression is

1. Vahid, S. A.: *Iqbal, His Art and Thought*, p. 194.

2. *Makhzan*, Lahore, for October 1919, p. 21. It was in a letter to one Mirza Sulaiman Ahmad.

3. *Makhzan*, Lahore, for October, 1919, p. 21; *Mas'ul*, Rawalpindi, for December 1932, p. 10.

4. Ghulam Husain Shkir Siddiqi follows Iqbal in his poems and writes mostly about historical topics. His works are *Armaghan-e-Urfi* (a novel), *Sa'adat-e-Dharm* (a collection of doctrinal poems), *Ra'at-e-Jadid* (Ghazals), *Qasr-e-Khayal*,

due to the graceful wording of Bedil. We have studied Bedil's combination<sup>1</sup> of words; we should now study Iqbāl's<sup>2</sup> for the sake of comparison:

دُرُقِ نَمُو، تَیْنِہِ دَارِ ہستی، بَحْشِ رِستَانِ نَوَا، طَافِ خَرَامِ، تَشَہِ، ہِستِی، تَوَسَّنِ  
اِدْرَاکِ، ذَوِی تَبِسمِ، جَہَانِ اَضْرَابِ، فِیضِ شَعْوَرِ، تَنْتِ فِکْرِ، قَدْوۃِ، رَنگِ بُو

A passing reference to the indebtedness of Urdu language to Bedil would not be out of place. As far as I know, Bedil wrote only three verses in this language but his pupils<sup>3</sup> Anand Rām Makhlīs, Sirājuddīn Khān Āzūr, and Nawāb Amir Khān Anjām have left many verses in Urdu. As after Bedil's death in 1033 A.H., poets of Shāh Jahānābād turned in large numbers to Urdu, the celebrations of the death anniversaries of Bedil attracted Urdu<sup>4</sup> poets also who got inspiration from Bedil's verse. Moreover, we have just talked about Ghālīb and Iqbāl, who wrote in Urdu also, and everybody knows they have enriched this language vastly by the sweetness of their expression and the loftiness of their thoughts. Thus it is clear that indirectly Urdu language owes much to Bedil. This fact can be explained further by enumerating second-rate Urdu poets who followed Bedil, but this will unduly lengthen the discussion, and I should, therefore, finish it here and move to the next chapter.

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*Bakār-e-Khayāl* (both collections of national and historical poems), and *Tāf-e-Qalandar* (mainly versified addresses to Iqbāl and the letters from the Poet of the East). In this connection, read an article by Shāhīr Siddiqī, captioned *Yad-e-Qalandar*, contributed to *Māhāt* for December 1952.

1. Page 190 *supra*

2. Yūsof Husain Khān, *Rik̄h-e-Iqbāl*, p. 10.

3. Mir Taqī Mir, *Nakātush Shu'arā*, pp. 2-4, 9; Gardezī, Sayyid Fatah 'Ali Husainī, *Tazkira-e-Rashīd Gorān*, p. 2.

4. Sauda, *Kulliyat*, pp. 470, 471. Husein Mirzā Muḥammad Rafī 'Savīs (d. 1195 A.H.) writes a satire in Urdu about the poet, Nudrat Kashmīrī, who took part in the celebrations.



that it has about 6,000 couplets. It has a brief preface in prose and eight chapters. The names of the chapters are given in the following eight lines.<sup>1</sup>

|                           |                         |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| جام تقسیم حریفان شهود     | جوش اظهار خمستان وجود   |
| شور سر جوش ملی فویش حضور  | سوح انوار کرمهائی طمور  |
| بزم لیرنگ خط لوح رسال     | ربک اسرار گشت کمال      |
| ختم طومار، نگ و برئی بیان | اصل اشکال خم و پیچ بیان |

The preface begins with the praise of the Creator Who honoured Man by saying :

واقعه کریمه بی آدم

And surely We have dignified the children of Adam ]

Then Bedil names the poems Zū'āl, Hū'āl, Zū'āl, Sū'āl, Tā'ib, Šāmir, Šā'idī, Salīm, and Šā'b, who (with the exception of the last two) could not be expected to comprehend properly and appreciate the Masnavi. In the first chapter Bedil tells how Pure Being gradually descended and entered the realm of manifestation. In the second chapter he informs how the wine of Divine Love, nay the Light of Heavens, was turn by turn distributed among the different prophets, i.e. Adam, Idris, Nūh, Yūsuf, Ismā'īl, Ya'qūb, Yūsof, Sulaimīn, Ayyūb, Mūsā, 'Isa and Muḥammad (Peace be upon them), and then among Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uṣayd, and 'Alī—the four Orthodox Caliphs of Islam. This fact reminds us of Ibnul 'Arabī who named the chapters of his *Futūḥ al-Ḥikam* after different prophets and discussed in each chapter an appropriate aspect of Mysticism. The third chapter deals with Manifestation, the fourth with the universal passion of love for God, and the fifth tells that perfection is attained by approaching the Almighty in a spirit of humility. In the sixth the tavern of the intoxicated lovers of God has been described, and in the seventh the unique position of Man in the universe has been emphasised. The eighth chapter marks the end. Here and there in the Masnavi anecdotes have been introduced to illustrate some point. The metre of the poem is *مقصود مشی مترب*—the famous running metre of the *Qasidas* of Firdausi.

1. *Makhlūḡ-e-Ḥam*, Panjab University Library Mus. No. 1526, f. 47 b. See the following couplets :

ای بسته دانت به طوف معنی احرام      در حلقه این میکند کن دور تمام  
مفتاح بهشت معرفت در کف بست      از دور نمیش اگر بانی جام

<sup>2</sup> *Makhlūḡ-e-Ḥam*, *Makhlūḡ-e-Ḥam*, p. 3.

3. In the Ms. of the Masnavi, mentioned above, it is شور سر جوش شراب. And similarly the author. *بی لیرنگ* see f. 47b.

4. The Holy Qur'ān, xvii, 70.

5. Page 46, *supra*.

6. Shauhtary, A.M.A., *Outline of Islamic Culture*, II, 503-16.

## CHAPTER V

### Masnavis

RUDAKI, the father of Persian poetry, was also the first poet to write a *Maṣnavī* in Persian. He related in verse the famous story of *Kalsla and Damna* and thus *Maṣnavī*, as a class in itself, came into being. The *Maṣnavī* was, therefore, originally a narrative, but gradually its scope was widened, and romantic, epic, philosophical, ethical, didactic, and mystical *Maṣnavīs* were written in course of time by different poets. When Bedil was born, all the great *Maṣnavīs*: the *Ḥadīqatul Ḥaqīqat* of Sanāi, the *Maṣnavī* of Jalālud Dīn Rūmī, the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, the *Pañj Ganj* of Nizāmī of Ganja, the *Bostān* of Sa'dī, and the *Haft Aurang* of Jāmī, had been written and were universally popular in Muslim countries. Bedil, therefore, was able to study *Maṣnavī* in its fully developed form. The language of the *Maṣnavīs*, too, had improved to such an extent that topics of all sorts, whether nature poetry, battle scenes, emotions, customs, character-sketches, philosophical subjects, or other problems of life, could be handled without facing any difficulty in expression. Suitable words, appropriate phrases, apt similes and metaphors, and carefully coined terminology could be found in abundance; and an intelligent, well-read, and original writer like Bedil could express himself with a charm and elegance which could not fall to the lot of the *Maṣnavī*-writers of earlier ages. Having enumerated, in brief, the advantages which Bedil had over his predecessors, we should study his *Maṣnavīs* in the chronological order.

#### I. MUḤIT-E-A'ZAM

Bedil was twenty four years old when he wrote this *Maṣnavī* in 1078 A.H. (1667 A.D.). Its name *مُحِيتُ الْعَزَمِ* is the chrologogram,<sup>2</sup> *Khushgū* says<sup>3</sup> that it has 2,000 couplets, but some manuscript copies of this *Maṣnavī*, which are found in different countries of the world, show<sup>4</sup>

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1. In a *Maṣnavī* both the hemistiches of every couplet rhyme with each other and the rhyme changes with every next couplet. The minimum number of couplets in a *Maṣnavī* is two, but there is no limit to their maximum number. Similarly, *Maṣnavīs* are not written in a particular metre. Any metre can suit them.

2. Page 55 *supra*.

3. *Khushgū, Mā'arif*, May 1942, p. 373.

4. Page 171 *supra*.

There are four aspects of the poem, and hints about them have been made by Bedil himself. In the preface<sup>1</sup> Bedil says that the poem is a *میخانه ظاهر حقایق* (A Tavern for the Revelation of Truths), i.e. its philosophical aspect has been referred to. In the same preface it has been called *بهشت معرفت*<sup>2</sup> also, which means the Paradise of Gnosis, and thereby the mystical import of the poem has been emphasised. In his *Ruq'at*, Bedil writes<sup>3</sup> that it is a *Saqināna*, i.e. a Bacchanalian Song. Again, in the *Chahār 'Unsur* this *Maṣnavī* has been named<sup>4</sup> *بهاریه*, i.e. a vernal ode. I would like to speak briefly about all the four aspects of the *Maṣnavī*, but, before doing so, I should reiterate that it was the first *Maṣnavī* of Bedil, written at the youthful age of twenty four, when the memories of his spiritual preceptors, who were accustomed<sup>5</sup> to talk about the mystical philosophy in their meetings, were still fresh in his mind.

While speaking of God Bedil begins with Pure Being, devoid of qualities and relations, when there were no accidents, no contradictions and no talk of the Necessary and the contingent. All this uproar was then hushed up in *Huwiyya* (He-ness) "which<sup>6</sup> signifies the inward Unity in which the attributes of the Essence disappear." Bedil says figuratively :

|                              |                           |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| تیره چرخ شمسان او            | تقدس بهار گنسان او        |
| خموشی به یزش کریم بان        | تجربہ گلزار او گلشنان     |
| نہ ہر دست ساقی ندم را نظر    | نہ از حرف مطرب جدا را خبر |
| نہ غم نی طرب نی خراں نی بہار | نہ کیفیت می نہ رنج خار    |
| بہ میخانہ غیب لاجوت بست      | بہم ساقی و بادہ و می پرست |
| نی و نغمہ و مطرب دانسان      | بس پردہ ساز وحدت لہان     |

[Transcendence was lamp of Its chamber,

Sanctity was a blossom of Its garden,

Quietness breathed a melodious song in Its assembly, and

Bewilderment strewed flowers in Its orchard.

Neither the cup had opened its eye on the bearer's hand,

Nor the melody was aware of the minstrel's tune.

There was neither sorrow, nor joy, and neither autumn nor spring.

Similarly there was neither exhilaration produced by wine nor the pain of drunken headache.

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Şāhidarī, Muḥt-a-A'zam*, Pī clāce, p. 2.

2. Page 181 supra, footnote No. 1.

3. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 12.

4. *Kulliyāt-e-Şāhidarī, Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 86.

5. Pages 21-41, supra.

6. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 96.

In the unseen tavern of Divinity,  
 The cup-bearer, the wine, and the ba-chaanal were all drunk  
 together.  
 The flute, the melody, and the heart-ravishing minstrel,  
 Were all hidden behind the curtain of the instrument of  
 Unity.]

The last hemistich of the verses quoted above shows that Pure Being marked its first approach to manifestation in AhadIyya (احدیت), i.e. Abstract Oneness. After this Being descended to WahidIyya (واحدیت), i.e. Unity in Plurality, and then the attributes, the contingent, the intelligences, the spirits, the heavens, the elements, and the lower kingdoms appeared. This, in brief, is Bedil's scheme of Ontological Devolution. Bedil's purpose in describing this scheme was largely to emphasise Man's position in the Cosmos. Bedil says that Man is the spirit and life of the whole Universe—a Microcosmos in form but Macrocosmos in meaning :

به معنی محیط و به صورت نمی زبوج نفس در نفس عالمی  
 [An ocean in meaning but a drop in form.

Through a puff of breath, a world in the cage ]

And he therefore tells Man:

ز شور تو این یزم دارد خروش ز خاموشی تست عالم خاموش  
 [Because of your agitation, there is tumult in this world and  
 The world becomes quiet when you are silent.]

The philosophical aspect of the Masnavi ends here, and when, after this discussion of the Ontological Descent of the Absolute, Bedil speaks about the ascent or return to It, the mystical aspect begins. As in the case of devolution, here also Bedil makes only brief references to the final destiny of Man when he is absorbed in the Pure Essence. He says :

بآن نشه جمعی که محرم شوند ز شوی گذشته و آدم شوند  
 ز آدم ملک از ملک نور پاک چنین ریشه ها دارد اسرار پاک

[The people who get acquainted with that secret wine,  
 Cease to be ghouls, and become Perfect Men.

From Men they rise to the level of angels and thence get  
 access to Pure Essence.

This is the effect of the sublime secret ]

In the first hemistich of these verses, Bedil speaks of the intoxication of love. In fact the whole of the poem revolves round this single idea, and it would be very useful if I could describe, in detail, Bedil's views about love, but, at present, I must be content with a few remarks only. According to Bedil, Love is a universal passion.

بهر سر هوائی از بی هاده است بهر خرمق این برق افتاده است  
 [Every head is exhilarated by this wine, and  
 This lightning has struck every stack.]

It sublimates and elevates :

شرابی کزو سنگ آدم شود      تن مرده روح مجسم شود  
ازین باده عفریت اگر یو برد      یفرمان زند و سین گو برد  
[It is a wine which transforms stone into Man, and  
Through it a lifeless body becomes an embodiment of spirit  
If a demon only smells this wine,  
It will excel the angels in authority.]

Moreover, it enlivens, gives strength and has vast potentialities.

لب پشه زین باده گر تر شود      همی درغ و عفا برابر شود  
اگر ذره گردد ازو کامیاب      کشد آینه یو رخ آفتاب  
ازو ساغر قطره دریا شود      دل یو دامن صحرا شود  
[If the lips of the mosquito are made moist by this wine,  
It will be a match to the monstrous Simurgh and the  
Phoenix.

If the atom is saturated with it,  
It will show a mirror to the Sun  
Through it the dry cup of the drop changes into ocean and  
The heart of the ant becomes an extensive Sahara.]

Above all it is because of love that man is delivered from the contaminations of the phenomena :

ز صافش توان رستن از آب و گل      ز دردش توان کرد تعبیر دل  
[Its purity will extricate you from the phenomena and even  
From its dregs a heart can be made.]

In the course of this dissertation, Bedil speaks about the Sufis' spiritual organ, i.e. 'Mind' (دل), whose nature, he says, is intellectual rather than emotional :

دل آن شعله برق ادراک تست      که پوشیده در صفحه خاک تست  
[The heart is that flash of the lightning of perception,  
Which is hidden in the page of your dust.]

Bedil refers to the opposite qualities which heart comes to have when it is darkened by sin or illuminated by faith and knowledge. Our mystic asserts, in addition, that not pride of virtue and asceticism, but a humble acknowledgement of one's drawbacks makes one esteemed in the eyes of God :

کمال ترا کس خریدار نیست      متاعی بجز نقص درکار نیست  
زین شکست آنچه پیدا شود      برین آستان نیستش و ا شود  
[None will buy your perfections.

The only commodity wanted here is imperfection.  
Whatever is offered out of the goods of failings,  
Will fetch price at this altar.]

Having described these things Bedil sums up the characteristics of gnostics. He says they observe reticence, but have a warm and

restless soul; they are ever contemplating, ever prepared to bow before God, but always above formal prayers, and they are dignified, humble in spirit, modest, generous, unceremonious, freedom-loving, intoxicated with the love of the Absolute sharp-witted, and hateful of worldly desires. Bedil has also mentioned the names of Bāyazīd of Bstām (261/875), Junād of Baghdād (297-9/909-11), Maṣṣūr al-Hallāj (309/922), and Jalālud Dīn Rūmī (672/1273), the prominent Sufis of Islam, whom he wishes to follow.

After a passing review of the mystical aspect of the Masnavi, we should talk about it as a bacchanalian song. Zuhūrī's (d 1025 A.H./ 1616-7 A.D.) celebrated *Sāqināma* had won a wide popularity, and it was because of this popularity that as soon as Bedil's creative talents were developed, he wrote a similar song, incorporating the good points of Zuhūrī, and adding what he thought to be essential. We learn from Bedil himself that he had Zuhūrī in mind when he wrote this poem. Bedil says, at the outset, after the usual doxologies, in the prose-preface to the poem :

یہ میخانہ طہور حقیقی است کہ ساقی نامہ (شعار ظہوری

[It is the tavern for the revelation of truths and not the *Sāqināma* of Zuhūrī's verse.]

The fundamental difference between these two poems has been very aptly stated by Khushgū, the biographer of Bedil. Khushgū says<sup>2</sup> that Zuhūrī's *Sāqināma* is a poetical composition, but that of Bedil has been written in a musical strain. This difference becomes all the more clear when both the poems are studied side by side. For example, both the poets have addressed the Cup-bearer in their poems. Zuhūrī's general drift of thought can be gathered from this address :

یا ساقی ای خرمین گل یا تو گل من خرمین دیند بیل یا  
یا ای خرمین طاقوس مست بنه بر سرم پاکه رفتیم زدست  
یا ای پری نام ساقی تعب بمن بر فشن رشع جام طرب

[Come, O Sāqī, all blossoms as thou art.

Come, come, thou art a rose, and I am a nightingale in the midst of autumn.

Come, O Thou, the strutting drunk peacock, and

Place thy feet on my head, as I am staggering.

Come, O Thou called fairy, and entitled Sāqī, and

Sprinkle on me drops out of the cup of wine.]

But Bedil's *Sāqī* has quite a different appearance and absolutely a different character. The following verses may be studied :

1. *Muḥṭṭā-e-A'zami*, pp. 16, 30, 32.

2. *Kh. 1337, in Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 375.

یا ای نشاط خرابات فیض      یا ساقی ای نور مرآت فیض  
 یا ای گل شعله طور دل      یا ساقی ای شور منصور دل  
 که افسرده عالم یجیب خمار      یا ساقی ای عیسی روزگار  
 محیط گهرهائی راز نهان      یا ساقی ای پایزید زمان  
 که گردیدام در خم جہل گم      یا ای فلاطون اسرار غم

[O Sāqī, thou light of the mirror of (Divine) grace, come hither.

Come hither, O Sāqī, thou exhalation of the tavern of grace.

O Sāqī, thou agitation of heart's Maṣṣūr, come hither,  
Come hither, O thou the glowing snuff of the flame of the heart's mount S na.

Come Sāqī, O thou the Christ of the time,  
Because I am troubled on account of being in the grip of drunken headache.

Come hither, O Sāqī, thou Bāyazīd of the age,  
O thou, the ocean of the pearls of hidden secrets.

O, thou the Plato of the Secrets of the vat of wine, come hither,

As I feel bewildered in the vessel of ignorance.]

It may be seen that Zuhūrī's is an ordinary fair faced coquettish sāqī, but the sāqī of Bedil is the finest production of the best mystical speculations. I need not dilate on this difference any more, but I would like to say a few words about a few more points where Bedil tried to rival Zuhūrī. To assure the cup bearer of their burning desire for a cup of wine, both the poets have sworn in an eloquent language, using rich imagery, novel smiles and metaphors, and a wealth of sweet and elegant phrases. Zuhūrī had written<sup>1</sup> 95 couplets of Oath, and one could say that the subject had been exhausted by him, but, only half a century after his death Bedil wrote<sup>2</sup> 123 couplets of the kind, which are of supreme literary value. Similarly, Zuhūrī wrote 15 couplets, in one breath, about heart (دل), and Bedil has written 13. Finally, Zuhūrī was very fond of employing<sup>3</sup> the figure antithesis (صنعت تضاد), and very charming instances of this are found in his *Sāqinama* also. Bedil, too, used this figure in *Muḥīṭ-e-Ā'zam* with equal success. For example, these verses from the Oath :

به گنگونده چهره اشتیاق      به بنایی اشک چشم قراق  
 بهوشی که دارد لب بیبشی      بحر فیکه دارد لب خامشی

(I swear) by the rouge of the face of longing ;

By the redness of the tear of the eye of separation,

1. Zuhūrī, *Sāqinama*, (Maṭba'at-e-Mustafāi Press, pp. 23-27).

2. *Muḥīṭ-e-Ā'zam*, Panjab University Library Misc. No. 1524; ff. 82-86. In the *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī* only 77 couplets have been given.

3. 'Abdun Nāṭi *Maṭḥana* (Hawāṭi), ed. Miḥammad Shafī, p. 63.

By the consciousness possessed by the head of unconsciousness, and

By the talk made by the lips of silence.]

In view of the categorical difference between the two *Sāqināmas*, it is not difficult to imagine how Bedil would describe the wine, the cup, the goblet, the vat, the tavern, the tavern-hunters, and the different musical instruments placed in the tavern. They have all been assigned a symbolical significance. This peculiarity Bedil had consistently in view even while talking of his Metaphysics in the *Masnavi*. He begins with Pure Being, and notice how the bacchanalian terminology has been employed :

خوش آندم که دربرگاه قدم      منی بودی نشئه کیف و کم  
منزه راندیشه حادثات      میرا ز درد غبار صفات  
نه مرهون طبع و نه محتاج کام      منزه ز سستیخیر منا و جام

[How pleasant the times when in the Banquet House of Eternity,

There was a wine without its effects,

Transcending the thought of the temporal, and

Free from the dregs of the dust of Attributes.

It was neither indebted to appetite nor in need of throat, and

Was beyond the reach of the goblet and the cup.]

It is, of course, a very appropriate beginning and indicative of the earnestness of Bedil's soul. Indeed, the passionate way in which Bedil has sung of the wine and the flowing running verses of the *Sāqināma*, like the surging torrents coming downhill, make the poem an inspiring reading.

Now about the poem as a vernal song. There is no dearth of poetry, about the splendor and joy of the spring, in Persian literature, and almost every poet has sung about the rose-garden, the nightingale, and the meandering sweet streams. Bedil, therefore, inherited aesthetic taste from his forerunners. This, however, goes to his credit that, because of his vivid imagination and powerful description, he produced exceedingly beautiful poetry, whenever he talked about things of beauty. In this poem he has described, at length, the bloom of the spring in an exquisite manner, and I would like to quote a few verses :

بهاریکه در باغ توصیف او      نفس می شود غنچه رنگ و بو  
هوایی که از نغمه وصف آید      برگ گل شد سخن بر زبان  
ز سبزه بچکد موج رنگ ز هو      جو جام سب لبویز بشی نقش پا  
ز رنگش اگر بهره یابد نظر      شود برگ گل پرده چشم تر

[It is a spring in describing which

The breath turns into a bud of colour and smell.



It is the air through the fragrance of whose praise  
The speech on the tongue is changed into the vein of the  
rose-petal.

A wave of colour trickles down the air, and  
The footprint is overfull, with wine, like the cup.  
If the eye gets a share from its colour,

The wet eyelid becomes the virtual rose-petal.]

Notice the sense of beauty particularly in the last hemistich. Bedil had indeed a novel creative experience. When speaking about his state of mind during the composition of this poem, he says, "At the time when the Versal Ode of *Mahmud Agha* was taking form, and the oasis of its usefulness was *delicacy, freshness, with the hue of the conceits of a hundred gardens, gracefully moved in the imagination, and elegance, with the beauty of a world of eloquence, strangely appeared before the mental eye*"<sup>1</sup>. Here Bedil talks about his conceits, his imagery, and his elegance, and one who reads this description of the spring and goes through the *Masnavi* will surely reap a rich crop of these things.

I have spoken above about the aspects of the *Masnavi*—philosophical, mystical, emotional and aesthetic—and have made references to its peculiarities. It is indeed one of the great *Masnavis* of Persian language, and in fact a masterpiece of our poet. In it the young poet sang of wine, love, and beauty and of his aspirations for a high ideal. His emotions had been sublimated by his apprenticeship as a mystic and this lent a novel charm to his poem. Like an ambitious thoughtful youth, the poet tried to cover the whole of Reality by his Philosophy. Such an all-embracing poem, making an impassioned appeal alike to the heart and to the mind, ought to have been received warmly by the public, but it is a pity that it was not popular in the *Seyyid* era, and when Bedil sent it, with some of his *Ghazals*, to 'Āqil Khān Razi, he had to pray

یا رب که من غیب به روزی رسد و من چهارها بیارسانی علم از پر تو  
مفضل آفتاب سرش شعاع اختیار می روشن نماید

[May these utterances, which are accused of having rhyme,  
and these expressions, which are known for their unpopularity, light the candle of humanity through the reflection  
of that assembly, which is the destination of the sun.]

1. *Farāhat-e-Safar-e-Gharā'ib*, vol. 2, p. 66. Deh Wares.

مفضل آفتاب سرش شعاع اختیار می رسد و بحسن و بحسن فرستد به نشو و  
نحو و کز این برگزینی معنی بر رچس میگذری در معجز و در حیل و در  
دست و به کفر و بی عدوت یک چون آب و رنگ در حلوه که سفر طراوت  
می کاست.

This prayer was granted and a time arrived when people eagerly requested the poet to give them copies of this Masnavi, and, I am sure, because of its sterling virtues, it will always be studied with undiminished interest.

## 2. TILISM-E-HAIRAT

Bedil wrote this Masnavi in 1080 A.H.<sup>2</sup> (1669 A.D.) according to the following chronogram.<sup>3</sup>

کهن نارنجی عقل زمان یاب      بی تاریخ نظمش بود بیاب  
سر ندیشه ت دزدید هر جیب      برون آورد گنج از عالم غیب

Bedil had joined the Army<sup>4</sup> after his marriage in 1079 A.H. (1668 A.D.), and we, therefore, come to the conclusion that he was still in the service of Prince A'zam Shāh when the Masnavi was written. I think his sad experience about *Mukhāt-t-Azam* had taught Bedil that the new Masnavi could be a success if it was dedicated to a scholar-courier<sup>5</sup> of the reputation of 'Āqil Khān Rāzi. The poet was, therefore, overjoyed when he learnt that the grand noble had agreed. He thanked him and wrote :<sup>6</sup>

بد تشکر که بود نامه ام رنگ قبول      بدیل بودم هزار دل گردبدم

[Numberless thanks to God, as my request in the letter has been granted.

I was without even a single heart, and now I possess a thousand.]

But this dedication did not fulfil the expectations entertained by Bedil. He, therefore, sent it to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān the son-in-law of 'Āqil Khān Rāzi, and at the end of the introductory letter<sup>7</sup> he wrote :

1. Page 121 supra

2. Sprenger's apprehension about his inability to solve the chronogram were not baseless. He has given 1123 A.H. (1713 A.D.), as the date of the composition of this Masnavi, which is palpably incorrect. 'Āqil Khān to whom the book was dedicated, and Shukrullah Khān to whom it was sent by Bedil, both died in 1103 A.H. (1695 A.D.). It is, therefore, clear that Sprenger's attempts at solving the chronogram have proved ineffective, and that Eise and the author of the Bankipur catalogue have both followed Sprenger, in this respect, in an uncritical spirit. The solution of the chronogram is not at all difficult. If we subtract 73, the numerical value of گنج, from 1153, the numerical value of عالم غیب, we get 1080, the Hijri year of the Masnavi's composition. For the references in this note see Sprenger, *Quat's Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, p. 379. Eise, *India Office Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, under No. 184; *Bankipur Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, under No. 382.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Shafdari, Tilism-e-Hairat*, p. 9

4. Page 60 supra

5. Page 56 supra. 'Āqil Khān Rāzi wrote also *Waq'at-e-Āhangī* also

6. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 5.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

شاد پاش ای دل که آخر عقده ات وامی شود  
 قطره ما می رسد چائیکه دریا می شود

[Feel delighted, O sweet-heart, because your knot is after a  
 being opened.

My drop will reach the place where it will turn into an  
 ocean.]

Th. Elia gave headings to the different sections of the *Masnavi* and prepared a summary of its contents. It was, therefore, the *Masnavi* which established the happy relations between these two persons, and, although in point of theme, depth of feelings, and spontaneity of expression, this *Masnavi* was inferior to *Mahit-e-Azam*, yet for practical purposes it proved more fruitful, because with it Bedil's place as a poet was recognised.

In the *Masnavi*, as well as in his *Raf'i*, Bedil has referred to the circumstances in which the *Masnavi* was written. He had settled in Delhi after his marriage. He found there many poets, having voluminous *Diwāns*, who attended mainly to metres of expression, fanciful conceits, and conventional poetry, but they lacked thought. On the other hand there were poets who had thoughts, but their verse lacked the necessary decorative element. While reading *Tasme-e-Hayat* to Nawab Shams-ud-Din, Bedil remarked<sup>2</sup> :

These days the people, who attract our notice by the freshness of their colorful expression, show no regard for meaning; and the persons, who, on account of their regard for the meaning, boastfully talk of their originality of mind, attach no value to the elegance of expression. The meanings, therefore, are like the melody hidden in some unknown musical instrument, and the language consists of unintelligible songs.

When Bedil observed these defects in the composition of his contemporary poets, he decided to effect a reform. He wanted to write something which should be the poetical counterpart of what he had seen in other poets. He wished that in his composition the ideas and their expression should balance each other in a most beautiful manner. He prayed<sup>3</sup> to God for a suitable theme, and one night he was thinking deeply, when all of a sudden an idea flashed in his mind. It began to develop and very soon his mind was full of ideas :

1. See *Raf'i-e-Bedil* Lucknow Edition, p. 53.

2. Page 81 *supra*.

3. Page 60 *supra*.

4. *Kuliyat-e-Safdar*, *Tasme-e-Hayat*, p. 3.

5. *Raf'i-e-Bedil* Lucknow Edition p. 3.

6. *Kuliyat-e-Safdar*, *Tasme-e-Hayat* p. 6.

هچرم آورد چندین معنی را از  
ز دل تا لب معانی بر معانی برنگ نقش باقی کز وی

[So many secret meanings gathered

That they flew off the lips of language

There were meanings piled over meanings right from the heart to the lip,

Like the footprints of a caravan.]

He, therefore, commenced writing this Masnavi, and when he finished it he was satisfied with the result. Later, when he was sending it to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, he wrote<sup>1</sup> :

Consequently it is ages since the language of *Tilism-e-Hairat* of Bedil has crept into the narrow corners of the meanings, and its meanings have concealed themselves under the cover of the words.

He was complaining against the bad taste of the people who could not appreciate a poem in which thought and expression had balanced each other beautifully. This shows Bedil's opinion about this Masnavi.

*Tilism-e-Hairat* is an allegorical Masnavi. It begins with a description of the Essence and Attributes of God, and of the scheme of creation. From a study of the contents of this part of the Masnavi one concludes that, while writing it, Bedil had in view this verse of the Holy Qur'an (viii. 3) :

هو الاول والآخر والظاهر والباطن

[He is the First and the Last, and the Ascendant (overall) and the Knower of all hidden things.]

Here Bedil's prayer :

شوم رازی که در گفن نگیم زم جوشی که من در من نگیم

[May I change into inexpressible secret, and

May I feel overpowering excitement.]

for the development of his own self brings to our mind his following verse in *Mahit-e-Azam* :

کنم گرم هنگامه ساز خویش نگیم به پیراهن روزخوش

[My frame should get uproarious like a musical instrument

So much so that the covering of my secret may not be able to contain me.]

It means he was still passing through the formative period of his life, of which he was fully aware. After this he praises the Holy Prophet in a very original manner.

زبانم قابل حمد خدا شد که با نام محمد آمد شد  
زهی نامی که جان دیوانه دوست هم وزیر بجهان پروانه دوست

1. *Rug'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 3.

دو عالم چون صدف در هم شکستیم که آمد گوهر نامش بدسم  
دل از تعجب این اسم است آگاه ز رمز معنی احمد نه

[My tongue was able to praise God,  
Because it got acquainted with the name of the praised one.  
How excellent the name, for which the soul is frenzied with  
love, and

Everything in the world loves it passionately.  
When I opened both the worlds like the pearl-oyster,  
Lo, the pearl of his name was in my hands.

Through an explanation of this name the heart knows

The mystery of the meaning of "All praise is due to Allah." The simple and unadorned language of the verses, the gradual development of the idea, and the sublime and graceful thought contained in them are simply wonderful. From the metaphysical point of view, the Prophet has been represented as Logos - the doctrine which tends to identify the essence of Muhammad (حقیقت محمدیه) "with the active principle of revelation in the Divine Essence." This idea seems to have been borrowed from Mahyud Ibn Ibnul 'Arabi (630-1240) and 'Abdul Karim ibn Ibrahim al-Jili (b. 1365-6 A.D., d. 1412-17 A.D.), but probably from the former<sup>1</sup>. The following verse of Bedil may be studied in this connection :

ظهورش غرزه - تنقید آفاق بطونش بی نوازیهای اطباق

[His externality is the range of the confines of the Universe,  
and

His internality is the majesty of the Absolute.]

The summary of the Maghavi now follows. Soul, the monarch of the exalted Dominion of Homens, came down to have a walk through the sub-lunary world, and resided in a pleasant place, called body, which is governed by phlegm, blood, yellow bile, and black bile - the four humours. The king selected for itself three citadels, one of them being brain, this citadel had ten stations, and at every station there was a master, their names being: the five senses (hearing, sight, smell, taste, and touch), common sense, fancy, reflection, imagination and memory. The last five are the internal senses. After this the soul, i.e. the king, moved towards the citadel of Liver where there were eight teachers: nourishment, growth, generation, figuration, attraction, retention, digestion, and expulsion. The third citadel was the heart where six persons resided. They were

1. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, pp. 87, 104 foll., 154 foll.

2. Khushgū, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942. Khushgū has remarked that Bedil was inspired by Ibnul 'Arabi. Khān Arrū also said in his elegy of Bedil :

این عربی بود به نرسی

[He was Ibnul 'Arabi in Persian language.]

hope, fear, affection, enmity, pleasure, and sorrow. The king, i.e. soul, drove away sorrow, fear and enmity from the heart and indulged in merry-making. But soon there was trouble and the king fell ill on account of the mutual jealousy of the humours and the conspiracy of the unpleasant emotions which had been driven out of the heart. Pleasure and affection asked the soul to approach beauty and love in this connection. Beauty and love, however, refused to help. Hope then invited reason who out of compassion, came and was useful to a certain extent, but the situation deteriorated with the onset of weakness. Then resolution stood in good stead: the patient turned the corner and soon recovered. Now beauty formed a sincere alliance with the king, and then love too arrived. The king experienced bewilderment and restlessness, but was told that he could not attain his object without self-renunciation. The king, relying upon Trust and accompanied by Love, had a walk through the Realm of Belovedness, and, beginning with the feet, he saw the charms of the calf, the legs, the buttocks, the waist, the belly, the navel, the breast, the waist, the neck, the mole, the down, the dimple, the tresses, the lips, the mouth, the cheeks, the nose, the eyes, the eyebrows, the forehead, the curling lock, and the stature. As the king wanted to see Absolute Beauty, he then moved to the Realm of Lovingness. In this realm the lands of blame and misery, the valley of separation, and the region of body (اتلب بدن) were seen one by one. In spite of his prolonged wanderings through the realms of Belovedness and Lovingness, the king's object was not attained, and naturally he was disheartened and disappointed. Love now told the king that both the realms were illusory, and that his own self was the Reality which prevailed everywhere. When the king found it out, he raised his eyes to have a look at his own self, and:

جهانی دید پاک از عرض صورت بهاری فارغ از رنگ کدورت

[He saw a realm free from the accident of form, and

The bloom of a spring immune from the taint of dust.]

It was the realm where the Absolute Essence of God had sway. Here the Masnavi reaches its end, and the poet reminds us of the import of this saying:

من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه

[He who knows his own self knows God]

It is clear that the Masnavi has a very coherent plot. Nothing inconsistent has been introduced. The soul's stay in the body, the different faculties that serve it, the causes of its troubles, the ways in which those troubles can be alleviated, and the nature of its real destiny in the world have all been described with a scrupulous regard for proportion. Interest has been created by the lively debate

between the humours, the illustrative use of apt similes and metaphors, and by a description of the protracted journeys of the soul as a *Maṣnavī*, which fact has introduced the element of movement in the *Maṣnavī*. While going through the summary of the poem one feels when the humours and faculties are named, that it is a philosophical poem, having dry and tasteless discussions; but the treatment of the subject-matter, and the poet's rich imagination have changed it into a romance. The artistic description of the beautiful parts, the emotional tension, and the soft and tender language have collectively produced a romantic effect. The didactic element comes in only incidentally and appears to be a natural development of the idea, and then after a moment the narrative goes on as before. The poem is, therefore, a great success in conception as well as in execution. The poet's claim that thought and expression should balance each other has been well established in the *Maṣnavī*. The following two verses, about jealousy and revengeful spirit, would serve as an example.

شمار کینه هر چاشمده کار است اگر کسبار باشد پنه زار است  
 محمد را در ضعیفی سهل شمار دم خنجر زیریکست خونخوار

[Wherever the spark of vindictiveness produces flames,  
 Even if it be a mountain, it takes fire like cotton.  
 Don't be little jealousy because of its weakness,  
 It is the thinness of a dagger's blade: which makes it blood-thirsty.]

The *Maṣnavī* has 3500 verses and has been written in *مثنوی* *Maṣnavī Yūmf* *Zulakha* of Jāmi.

### 3. TŪR-EMARIFAT

This *Maṣnavī* was written when Bedil went<sup>1</sup> to Bairāt with Nawāb Shukrullah Khān after he had finally settled in Dehli. Bedil says that when the armies of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān moved<sup>2</sup> to that place, he too accompanied, because, a poor man as he was, he could not make the necessary arrangements for the journey, which he was most anxious to undertake.

Now, we see Nawāb Shukrullah Khān fighting<sup>3</sup> against the rebellious Narūka Bajī Ram and his seven sons, in Mewār, in 1097 A.H. (1685-6 A.D.) and the Nawāb comes back<sup>4</sup> to Dehli in 1099 A.H. (1687-8 A.D.), with victorious colours, after he had completely routed<sup>5</sup>

1. Page 91 supra.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī*, *Tār-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 4.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī*, *Qif-āi*, p. 49.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

5. *Ibid.*

the Nardkas in 1042 A.H. (1636-7 A.D.) One can say, therefore, that Bedil went to Mewat when Nawab Shukrullah Khan proceeded to fight against Burji Ran. But this Masnavi does not indicate at any place that the poet lived in Mewat in the midst of active armies and constant warfare. On the other hand it appears that the Masnavi was written at a time when there was perfect calmness all around, and when both, Bedil and Nawab Shukrullah Khan, could peacefully enjoy the scenery of the place, and could find leisure to describe it in verse. A few verses of Bedil disclose that, before he went to Mewat, he had heard much about the beautiful scenery of Bairat. In all likelihood it was Nawab Shukrullah Khan who told Bedil about the charms of the place, and the Nawab could not do so before his return from Mewat in 1039 A.H. (1637-8 A.D.). Moreover, immediately after his final arrival in Delhi in 1033 A.H. (1620-1 A.D.), Bedil asked Nawab Shukrullah Khan in a letter, to arrange permanent residential quarters for him; and from this we form the conclusion that when Bedil arrived in Delhi from Mathura, with his family, in 1036 A.H. (1624-25 A.D.), Nawab Shukrullah Khan was already in Mewat, and, therefore, Bedil had to request for the house in a letter. All this shows that Bedil did not go to Mewat when the Nawab's armies first moved towards the place. Azid Elgrami says that Nawab Shukrullah Khan was the Governor (Farjdar) of Mewat till he died there in 1109 A.H. (1696 A.D.). I am, therefore, of the opinion<sup>6</sup> that Bedil accompanied Nawab Shukrullah Khan when he went to Mewat for the second time after 1039 A.H. (1637-8 A.D.), and it was then that the Masnavi *Tur-e-Ma'rifat* was written.

The Masnavi has been written in the metre of *Tur-e-Hayat*, which Bedil wrote about twenty-nine years before in 1030 A.H. (16270 A.D.). It has two names: *Tur-e-Ma'rifat* and *Gharib-e-Hayajat*, which occur in Bedil's *Ruq'at* as well as in the Masnavi itself. It was

1. Kalimat-e-Sikari, *Tur-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 4. Here Bedil tells how he was pleased to see the scenery.

2. Kalimat-e-Sikari, *Tur-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 19. Here Bedil remarks that Nawab Shukrullah Khan also wrote a poem describing the charming scenery.

3. Kalimat-e-Sikari, *Tur-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 4.

4. Page 39 supra.

5. Azid Elgrami, *Sar-e-Said*, p. 149.

6. In the connection see p. 91 supra also.

7. Khushk, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 375.

8. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, pp. 31, 43, 53, 46.

9. Kulliyat-e-Safdar, *Tur-e-Ma'rifat*, pp. 2, 19. The following verses

زطور معرفت معنی سر به  
بچشم کوه سی نازدند آید  
به طر معرقت گردید معلوم  
پیش آخر این مکتوب منظوم



written in two<sup>1</sup> days and has about 1,200 couplets.<sup>2</sup> The *Maṣnavī* describes the scenes, during the rainy season, of Bairāt<sup>3</sup> which is a town in Mewat. The following introductory remarks,<sup>4</sup> in prose,

آغاز بیتان سیر بیرات و تحقیق سواد قدرت آیات

given at the top of the first section of the poem, make a reference to its character and declare that the poem is primarily a description of the scenery of Nature

Bairāt is surrounded,<sup>5</sup> on all sides by low and bare red hills, and when, having crossed the rugged hilly ranges, one gets at once a glimpse of the circular valley, having very fine and abundant trees with a beautiful town in its midst, one is surprised to see the fascinating scenery. The valley is about 2½ miles in diameter,<sup>6</sup> and from seven to eight miles in circuit. The valley, therefore appears like the exquisite gem of a ring. Says Bedil :

زبس ذوق طوبی آن صنم زار      چو مشتاقان بگردش گشته کهسار  
فلک نزدیک بر انگشتر بنش      که حاصل شد بگینی چون زینش

[On account of his intense desire to walk round the beautiful place,

The mountain circumambulated like the lovers.

The sky was proud of its ring,

Because it got a gem like its ground.]

When Bedil was in Bairāt, it was the rainy season, and the skies were overcast with clouds, with all those glories for which the monsoons in India are known far and wide. Bedil, who, being a mystic poet with a fine aesthetic taste, was much influenced by the sublime and the elegant, could not but be moved by these scenes. He says :

کنون در کوه بیرات آب و رنگ است  
که هر یک بهر دل درون فرنگ است

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī, Tūr-e-Ma'ārif*, p. 19. The following verse :

دو روزی در پس زانو نشستم      خری را بهاری نقش بستم

[I sat meditating for a couple of days, and

Turned a thought into the spring.]

2. It is strange that according to *Khushqū* in *Ma'ārif* May 1942, p. 375, the number of couplets is 3 000. The Manuscript, as well as the published, copies of the *Maṣnavī* which I could lay my hands upon, have only 1,200 couplets, and also no catalogue of Persian MSS. gives a larger number.

*Khushqū* has also said that the maximum number of verses, that Bedil could write in a day, was 900, and when Bedil himself says this *Maṣnavī* was written in two days, how can the number of the couplets of the *Maṣnavī* be 3 000 ?

3. Page 92 *supra*

4. *Tūr-e-Ma'ārif* : 34. Panjab University Library No. 1526, f. b

5. Cunningham, A., *The Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 340-42

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 340-42

[At present there is so much of light and colour in the Hills of Bairāt,

• That every one of them captivates the heart like a French beauty.]

Although Fedil has said that in writing this Masnavi he followed Nawāz Shukrullāh Khān, who had written a poem describing the scenery of Bairāt, yet there is no denying the fact that Bedil himself was much impressed by the scenery, and as a consequence the creative urge was so powerful and the inspirational thrill, in his imagination as well in his emotions, was so acute that he could not express himself adequately in verse. He says sorrowfully :

|                              |                             |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| ز دلگشت حقیقت تر زبانم       | بعد متان می باید زبانم      |
| نوازی ساز مستطاب ضرر خیز است | ولی که زخم خط سرمه ریز است  |
| اگر از خط نبی شد سرمه اندود  | معانی شور پندایی حشر می بود |

[I have become eloquent on account of my walk through the valley of Reality, and

My tongue has grown into a thousand beaks,

The sound of the meaning's instrument plays not,

But at the time of composition this sound is silenced.

If composition had not silenced them,

The meanings would have produced the tumult of the Resurrection.]

This Masnavi, therefore, does not consist of Nature-Poetry conventionally indulged in by Persian poets, but here we find a poet who sings about Nature because he must. A spontaneous production of this kind deserves careful consideration, and I shall, therefore, pause here for some time in spite of the limits imposed by my thesis.

As a piece of descriptive poetry of Nature, this Masnavi shows that Bedil had a highly developed and comprehensive landscape sense. Beginning with the small particles of dust and earth, he describes meadows, gardens, flowers, thorns, mountains, waterfalls, springs, clouds, raindrops, bubbles, the sky, and the evenings, and the mornings. The pictures drawn are under particular moments, and under particular moods. In the brief description of the Bairāt town, with its surroundings, Bedil speaks of all the objects mentioned above, with such a regard for the minutest details, that at the end of the section the complete picturesque scene of Bairāt appears before our eyes with all its brilliance. Not content with this, Bedil describes all the objects of Nature separately, and then he makes a magnificent display of his powers of description, his keen observation, and his vivid imagination. See for example the clouds with contrasts of shade :

1. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 64. Kuṭb al-Ḥisān-i Tārīkh-i Tārīkh, p. 19. In the *Ruq'at-e-Bedil* informed Aqil Khān Rāzi that Shukrullāh Khān's poem inspired him to write *Tārīkh-i-Bairāt*.

اگر ابر سیاهی قطره ببارد      کواکب ریزی دامن شبیاست  
وگر ابر سفید آتش عنان است      همان صبح طرب شبم فشان است

[If the black could showers drops, it looks as if

The stars are coming down the skirt of night.

And if the white cloud breaks loose, it appears

The very joyful dawn is sprinkling dew-drops.]

Now he describes the stationary interwoven black clouds with rain-drops coming down :

چه ابر آئینه دُر گل و مل      بهار صد شبستان زلف و کاکل  
ولی زلفی که از یک جنبش باد      هزاران دل تواند کرد ایجاد

[What cloud?—the mirror of the blandishments of the Rose  
and wine, and

The delight of a hundred closets of tresses and curls

But they are like a lock of hair, which by a slight movement  
in the air,

Can invent a thousand hearts.]

But the realistic effect, when Bedil describes the flying clouds with flashes of lightning, is splendid :

گاهی از ابر بر آفاق خدد      گاهی بر خاک میل گریه خدد  
به تیغ کوه گاهی سینه مالد      گاهی گیرد ره دشت و بنالد

[At times it laughs at the world through the clouds, and

At times lets down a stream of tears on the dust

Sometimes it rubs its breast against the mountain-peak, and

At one time flies away to meadows and weeps.]

The falling of rain-drops is a scene where Bedil's creative imagination is at its best :

گهرهای محیط عالم پاک      ز عطباتی روان بادامن خاک  
جهان روشن چرخ یزم اقبال      از بی پروانه های بی پروا دل  
به آهنگ چکیدن بسته سخن      زاویع یخزودی یک کاروان دل

[The pearls of the ocean of the sublime world

Roll down to the ground through roundness.

The world appears to be the bright lamp of an august  
assembly,

Because of these wingless moths

With the object of dropping down, is journeying

A caravan of hearts from the highest point of rapture.]

Brilliant metaphors of this kind continue for a considerable length.

Here and there in the *Masnavi* one comes across fantastic exaggerations, for example :

هوائش طبع را چندان مقویست  
که آنجا بی نفس هم می توان زیست

[Its climate is so invigorating,

[That there one can live even without breathing.

ز سیر آبش گریز نوشتی  
توان در جوئی ماطر را بد کشتی  
وضوئی گو کند ز هد باین آب  
عصا قواره گردد صبحه دولاب

[If you write a word about its dampness,  
A boat can be plied in the stream of the ruler.  
If the ascetic makes ablutions with this water,  
His staff will turn into a water-spouting spring and his  
rosary will become a water-wheel.]

But it will be seen that these exaggerations have their origin in reality, and hence these may be termed simply instances of معنی آفرینی which was the predominant literary trend of Bedil's times. In this Masnavi, when Bedil says at one place :

بهر سو لعه نظاره تیز است

[From every direction the rays of the scenes dazzle the eyes.]  
and thus emphasises the descriptive nature of the poem, at another place he makes a reference to its conceits also :

ز تنزهش معانی حسن بیرنگ

[On account of its transcendence the meanings assume a  
colourless beauty.]

These extravagant expressions, therefore, may be viewed in this context.

A study of the colour-sense of Bedil is equally interesting. The damp climate, the varying hues of the sky, and the dust-washed brilliance of the scenery gave an opportunity to Bedil to make an extraordinary display of his colour-sense. The splendour of the rainbow has been described in this way :

گر از وصف قزح گیرد بیان رنگ  
چگونه چیست این نقش تحیر  
رنگ ابر بهارستان تیرنگ  
بر طاوس حرف ریشه دام  
بیاید از زمین تا آسمان رنگ  
که خم شد این زبان دوش تفکر  
طنسم ریشه درویش در چنگ  
خیال لعل تو خط بر لب جام

[If expression gets coloured by the description of rainbow  
Right from the earth to the sky, the colour would grow  
What should I say about this wonderful painting ?  
Because this time have bent the shoulders of thinking.  
It is the streak of the cloud of a marvelous spring.  
Or the talisman of the tassel of a carefree person is in hand.  
Or the peacock's feathers have been used as the strings of  
snare.

working in his mind in the following<sup>1</sup> verses :

زهر سنگی عیان بی قیل و قلی سرسنی و زانوی خیالی  
نمیدانم باین مستان چه روداد که هر جا هر کدام استاد افتاد

[Indisputably through every stone one can see  
The head of a drunkard on the knees of thought.

I don't know what happened to these tipsy people,  
Because everyone remained where he happened to be.]

When we have studied these verses, we almost feel persuaded to show utmost reverence to the stones :

مباد اینجا زنی بر سنگ دستی که مینا در نعل خفته است مستی  
[Be careful, you don't strike your hands against a stone,  
Because a person drunk may be asleep with a goblet under  
his arm.]

And this is the climax. Sympathies with inanimate Nature are here unique and supreme. Elsewhere, in this poem, Bedil's æsthetic taste finds lovely virgins in the stones.

براه انتظار باست دلنگ بریزاد شرر در شیشه سنگ  
[On account of having waited for us for a long time, we  
aggrieved

The fairy-born sparks in the glass of stone.]

In conjunction with this depth and universality of feeling we find the undercurrent of another thought running in the mind of the poet. We have already studied his views about Man as the epitome<sup>2</sup> of creation. His belief about the vast potentialities of the microcosm urges him to regard every smaller object with respect and honour, and he appears to have the idea that all objects of the kind have similar potentialities. About the bubble he says<sup>3</sup>:

که عمر خضر بالذات حبابش  
[From its bubble would grow the life of Khizr—the Prophet  
Ils]

The drop is described in this way<sup>4</sup>:

کدام قصره شوقی آریاء ز دقت یحدر در گوهر حریء  
[What drop?—Eagerness personified.

Through subtlety an ocean hidden in a pearl.]

Similarly, the thorn<sup>5</sup>, according to Bedil, is not a commonplace thing

بن هر خار صد گلشن در آغوش

[The tip of every thorn has a hundred gardens in its bosom.]

And the microscopic particle of dust:<sup>6</sup>

1. *Kulhyat-e-Şa'dat, Tûr-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 10.

2. Page 247 *supra*.

3. *Tûr-e-Ma'rifat* p. 4.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

6. *Ibid.*

دل هر ذره اش تخم بهاری

[The heart of everyone of its atoms is the seed of a spring season.]

And lastly as regards a handful of dust Bedil has a similar belief:

نهان در هر کف خاکی جهانیست

[In every handful of dust a universe is hidden.]

These ejaculations tell that it is the poet's own self speaking through the smaller objects.

This influence of Bedil's Metaphysics brings into limelight the intellectual element in his poetry, and we are reminded that in his poetry, mysticism, and philosophy are all one. So far as this *Masnavi Tūr-e-Ma'rifat* is concerned, we learn from Bedil's *Ruq'at* that he himself was fully aware of this unity of thought in this poem. To Nawāb Shukrullah Khān he wrote<sup>1</sup>:

معنی نواز - طور معرفت از هجوم دیده انتظار سامان یک عالم چراغانست  
و به هوانی نثار آن کلیم این - قیمت جدهزار گهر معنی بدانان

[Patron of Learning] *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, on account of a crowd of waiting eyes, has equipment for the illuminations of a world and, in order to make an offering to that interlocutor with God, in the Secure Valley of Reality, it has in its skirt a hundred thousand pearls of conceits.]

In this sentence it has been told that the *Masnavi* embodies poetry, mysticism, and philosophy. Again, to 'Aqil Khān Rāfi<sup>2</sup> he wrote that it is *گنجش حقیقت*, i.e. the Treasure Ground of Reality. Similarly, to Mirzā 'Ibīdullah<sup>3</sup> he intimated that the poem has *معانی حقیقت*, i.e. Rays of Reality. But while writing to Mirzā Muḥammad Amin 'Irfān<sup>4</sup> the reference was a bit more elaborate:

در تعمیم عبارتش مدعی خاص مدح توان یافت و از تخصیص معنی  
حقیقتی اخص می توان شکافت

[In the general terms of its language, a particular idea has been couched, and from its special purpose the most special truth can be discovered.]

If I speak at length about all the aspects of this *Masnavi*, I shall only be repeating what I have said elsewhere in the foregoing pages

1. *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 6.

2. It is because of this that he again forcefully urged in this *Masnavi* to study self:

معانی معانی معانی  
اگر خواهی کشودن چشم بکشا  
[You are a riddle, a riddle, a riddle,  
If you wish to solve it, open your eyes.]

3. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Ed. 1937, p. 49.

4. *Ibid.* p. 62.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

of this work. I shall, however, quote a few verses to show how symbolically the poet enumerates the characteristics of a gnostic. He writes about the bubble :

|                               |                             |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| که حیران ز نقش اوست پدا       | ز می وضع حالت در سرو پا     |
| نگه به شرم عدت دیده بسته      | بمن در دامن دل به شکسته     |
| نگاه به چشم ترور و قمارش      | دل و زبط من دامن بازش       |
| و گریه از خودش بیرون سفر نیست | اگر چشم است بر عرش نصر نیست |
| کینه آرای ناز از وضع آداب     | چو سائیر پادشاه عالم آب     |
| خمش همی چو آب نقش نگمش        | حیا چون چشم حسن آهش         |
| تبی از خود شدن سامان بازش     | سبکرومی و قار امتیازش       |

[How excellent is the round shape of the bubble.

Its very form expresses bewilderment.

Its breath has stopped dead in its heart, and

Its glance has closed itself because of shamefulnes for negligence.

It is out and out a heart with self-restraint, and

From every side it is a glance and a wet eye.

If it is an eye it does not look towards others, and

If it is a foot it does not journey out of itself,

Like the cup it is the monarch of the realm of water, and

By observing the rules of decorum it feels exultant,

Modesty, like the eye-pit, is its steel-fort, and

Silence, like the lip, is the painting on its gem :

Lightness of spirit is its proud distinction, and

Self-renunciation is the cause of its dignity.]

Moreover, Bedil was known for its copper mines. While speaking of the mines and the mineral wealth<sup>1</sup> of the place, Bedil had occasion to criticise the wealthy people on account of their "stone-heartedness" and their pride. He is, however, all praise for those rich persons who are humane and good.

As regards the literary peculiarities of the *Masnavi* we find the same soft and elegant expression, the same fresh and fair combinations of words, the same original conceits, the same materialisations<sup>2</sup> of

1. Cunningham *An Ancient Geography of India*, p. 312.

2. *Tarjume-ye-Masnavi*, pp. 11-12.

3. For example.

حدیث سبز اش زین بیان شد سخن تا گل کند طوطی بیان شد

[The tale of the veiled is adorned by a expression, and hence

The tale appeared in the form of a green parrot.

زمستانش اگر گیرد سخن تاب چنگ ز جبهه حسن بیان آب

If the verse borrows lust a face from the

Brilliance will strike from the forehead of graceful expression.

the abstract, the same lively discussion<sup>1</sup> of the abstract, and the same emotional flow and the *l'* for which Bedil has been praised in these pages. The traits, which distinguish this Masnavi from the other works of Bedil, have however been mentioned here and there in the course of discussion. The Masnavi occupies a unique place in Persian literature, because, although the great Persian poets like Firdausi (d. 416/1025-6), Minuchihri (d. 433/1041), Nizami of Ganja (d. 599/1202-3), Sa'di (d. 1231 A.D.) and others have described Nature<sup>2</sup> in their own way in their works, *Īr-e-Ma'rifat* of Bedil is almost the only Masnavi whose theme is Nature-poetry,<sup>3</sup> and if in it there are references to other topics, philosophical or mystical they are only casual.

#### 4. 'IRFĀN

This Masnavi was completed by Bedil in 1124 A.H. (1712 A.D.) according to the following chronogram given at its end, which at the same time serves the purpose of dedication:

کرده تاریخ او نیاز کرام    هدیه ذوالجلال والا کرام

Khushgū says<sup>4</sup> that the Masnavi was completed in thirty years. It means it was begun in 1094 A.H. (1682-3 A.D.) when Bedil was living in Mathura<sup>5</sup>. In a letter to Nawāb Siakrullah Khān Bidil<sup>6</sup> writes that he was writing this poem, *Īrfān*, and his prose-work *Chahār*

دمی کز وصف رنگش بر فشان بود    نفس طووس فردوس بیان بود

[At the moment when the description of its colour began,  
The breath became the peacock of the paradise of expression]

It may be seen that the invisible is being made a part of our visual imagery.

1. Read the following:

دوی حرف است و ما تمثال حرفیم    که در صد مطلب تاپاسه صریفیم  
درین تمثال ما شخصی است مودود    که صد تمثال پیدا کرد و نه نمود  
لباس جلوه بیرون ز قیس است    دو عالم شوخی رنگ لباس است

[Dedam is only a mode of speech and we are the image of the speech,  
and

We have been employed in (expressing) a hundred unintelligible propositions,

In these images there is a Person

Who produced numerous images but did not show Himself.

The modes of manifestation are unimaginable, and

Both the worlds are only a gay show of the colour of the mode.]

2. See *Shibli Shik'rul-Ajam*, I, II, III, IV.

3. I would direct my readers to go through my article about this Masnavi, which appeared in *Makhzan*, Lahore, for August 1930.

4. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942.

5. Page 83 *supra*.

6. *Rasā'id-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 69



'*Unsur* simultaneously, and at page 6 of *Chahār 'Unsur* Bedil writes that he was then fortyone years old, indicating thereby that this prose-work was also begun in 1094-5 A.H. (1682-4 A.D.). This fact is corroborative of what Bedil writes in his letter, mentioned above. *Khushgū* has also stated that the metre<sup>2</sup> of '*Irjān*', is the same which great Sanā'ī employed for his celebrated *Ḥadīqat al Ḥaqīqat*<sup>3</sup> i.e. ناعلاتن ماعلاتن فاعلاتن. This metre, according to Browne,<sup>4</sup> is halting and unattractive.

Not only that the metre of both the *Māṣnavī*s is the same but they resemble each other in other respects also. Both of them deal<sup>5</sup> primarily with mysticism, they have ten<sup>6</sup> chapters each, and every chapter in both of them has a distich for its rubric. These things go a long way to prove that Bedil, like Rumi<sup>7</sup> and other mystic poets, was largely influenced by Sanā'ī. About the time when Bedil was born in 1054 A.H. (1644 A.D.) the literary people in India must have rededicated their energies to the study of Sanā'ī owing to almost missionary

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī, Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 6.
2. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 375.
3. Stephenson, J., *The First Book of Ḥadīqat al Ḥaqīqat*, (tr.) preface, XXV; Faqir Shamsud Din, *Ḥadīqat al Balāghat*, p. 146.
4. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, II, p. 319.
5. About '*Irjān*' Rieu, *British Museum Catalogue of Persian Mss.* f. 707a: 'A poem treating of Sufi Doctrines', *Khushgū*, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 375.

### سراسر گنجگوی تصوف و معارف دارد

It has throughout discussions about mysticism.

About *Ḥadīqa* - Stephenson, *The First Book of Ḥadīqat al Ḥaqīqat*, XXVIII; Shibli, *Shi'ar al 'Ajam*, I, p. 181.

6. *Ḥadīqa*, with commentary of 'Abul Latif, Index, p. 8. As regards '*Irjān*', Dr. Rieu speaks in the *British Museum Catalogue*, at f. 707a, that it has such like headings, but he does not give any. In Kābul, however, I saw the following, written by hand, in the beginning of the different chapters of the *Māṣnavī*, in *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, which was in the library of one Ḥaḡg Nar Muḥammad. The first, the seventh, and the eighth headings were however missing.

شوخی و سزومه دهایی  
که بهشت بود اقبال و غیا  
علم و فضل است کمال انسان  
حکمت است انجمن آرای خیال  
نیست جز سلطنت اقبال و ظهور  
آمد از کار که عقل و دیون  
ختم جمیعت و تحصیل کمال

عرض آهنگ نوائی ثانی  
جنس ثالث زدکان من و ما  
قسم رابع که درو هست عین  
طور خامس که ساز اعمال  
حکم ششم که درین دار غرور  
نقش تاسع که همه علم و فنون  
جهد عاشر بر جوع اشعل

7. Cf. the famous couplet of Rumi:

عطار روح بود و سنائی دو چشم او      ما از بس سنائی و عطار آمدیم

zeal shown<sup>1</sup> by Khwāja 'Abdul Latīf in collating the different manuscripts of the *Ḥadīqa* and in commenting and annotating it in 1038 A.H. (1628-9 A.D.). Two<sup>2</sup> manuscripts of Khwāja Latīf's commentary, with text, exist in the Panjab University Library also, and one of them (of 1040/1630) is a very excellent copy. This fresh interest in Sanā'i might have induced Bedl to write a *Masnavi* similar to *Ḥadīqa*. As regards the number of verses in *ʿIrḡān*, Bedl himself says that it has 11,000 lines:

لیک هر که در شمار آمد بر زبان یازده هزار آمد

[But when counted

They were found to be eleven thousand.<sup>3</sup>]

and this is roundabout the number of lines in *Ḥadīqa* which is 11,500. On actual counting the number of couplets in *ʿIrḡān* came up to be a few hundred more than those stated by Bedl. Thus here is another similarity between the two *Masnavi*s. As Bedl wrote his *ʿIrḡān* in imitation of a most famous mystical *Masnavi*, and as he spent full thirty years of his life in composing it, he believed that *ʿIrḡān* had a high literary value. Khushgū says<sup>4</sup>:

بر آن مثنوی ناز می کرد - چنانچه اکثر از زبان مبارکش شنیده ام که آنچه ما داریم نسخه عریان است

[He was proud of that *Masnavi* and many a time I heard him saying that the only worthwhile thing he had was the *Masnavi* *ʿIrḡān*.]

Bedl himself has confirmed Khushgū in a *Ghazal*. He says<sup>5</sup>:

درین عبرت سرا عریان ما هم تاری درد  
سراپا سوز دالتش گشتن و چیزی نهمیدن

[In this abode of negligence our *ʿIrḡān* too has a freshness  
One becomes out and out the pith of wisdom without<sup>6</sup> understanding anything]

This much about the historical background of the *Masnavi* and other necessary details. We should now make an objective chapter-wise study of its contents.

1. Stephenson, *The First Book of Ḥadīqat al-Ḥaḡīqat*, Preface XIV-XXV. Khwāja 'Abdul Latīf came to Lahore in 1037 A.H. (1627-8 A.D.) during the reign of Shāh Jahān, and after procuring and collating different manuscripts of *Ḥadīqat al-Ḥaḡīqat*, he wrote such a masterly commentary of the *Masnavi*, that not only he became popular amongst his contemporaries, but also even now his name is inalienably associated with the *Masnavi* in the West as well as in the East. It is certain that but for his patient collation, no authentic text of the *Masnavi* would have been available to the world.

2. No. 253 of 1040, 1630, and No. 253-b of 1132-3/1719-20.

3. Stephenson, *The First Book of Ḥadīqat al-Ḥaḡīqat*, XXV.

4. Khushgū, in *Mu'arrif*, May 1942, p. 375.

5. Kulliyāt-e-Sāldarī, *Ghazalī*, p. 294.

6. Reference has been made here to the unknowability of God in spite of our best efforts.

The *Mathnawi* opens with assertions with regard to Man being the epitome of creation, and the entire discussion is based on this central idea :

تلزم کائنات و هرچه دروست جوش بیتی\* حقیقت اوست

[The sea of the universe and whatever it has

Is the fermentation of his restless reality.]

and after pleading his point forcefully Bedil says :

کيست که بد گرشده انسان

[Who can comprehend the miracle that Man is.]

His wonder grows when he beholds the insignificant body of Man :

مشت خاکی باین بیستلیها قطره آبی و این محیطها

[A handful of dust having so much vastness ? and

A drop as big as the ocean itself ?]

Then Bedil praises the holy Prophet and speaks about him as Logos. Then he exhorts Man to realise and discover his self and incidentally speaks highly of India, its fertile plains, and pleasant climate. After this a most philosophical discussion ensues, in which Bedil talks of Life's struggle, for an unknown purpose, which began with eternity and will end in eternity, assuming always new forms and new shapes, and he begins this discussion with a statement of how thoughts (خیالات) are the material of the Cosmos. After this there is again advice to Man and a discourse about Love and here the introduction ends.<sup>1</sup> The introduction has four interwoven stories.<sup>2</sup>

At this stage Bedil incorporates<sup>3</sup> his *Mathnawi Mir'atullah*, which I saw in Kābul in the form of a separate manuscript<sup>4</sup> also. This shows that it was an independent work, compiled before the

1. Nicholson, R.A., *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, I can not do better than reproducing here what includes the author's basis in the foot note : "Mystics hold that God reveals Himself in five planes (b-darāt) : (1) the plane of the Essence, (2) the plane of the Attributes, (3) the plane of the Actions, (4) the plane of similitudes and phantasy (khayāl), (5) the plane of sense and outer vision. Each of these is a copy of the one above it, so that whatever appears in the sensible is the symbol of an unseen Reality." For a clearer wording of this idea of Man being thought in essence, read Nicholson at page 84 of the book "Man, in virtue of his essence, is the realm of Thought assuming form and connecting Absolute Being with the world of Nature."

And also :

\*ARIFI *Muhyid Din Ibrāhīm Arabi*, 47-53

\*ARIFI has told how the phenomena, world is believed to be the result of Thought or latent realities as he calls them

2. Kullī Āl-e-Safdarī, *Irān*, pp. 1-14.

3. Ibid., pp. 5, 7, 11, 13

4. Ibid., p. 14-37.

5. In Ma'arif Library, Kābul

composition of *Zafar*, and was composed because of identity of nature and subject. *Al-Buhārī* does not only write the *Ar* of *Becker* and *Ascent* and whatever *Zafar* said, here and there on this subject, in the form of brief references, has been expressed here with a regard for detail. The *Masnavi* discusses how the Pure Being became gradually qualified as the Cosmos appeared. In the first degree (*Ilavvne-Awwal*), *Bedl* says, the *Ar* became conscious of itself as Pure Being, and His consciousness of Attributes was only general. This was the state of *Univ*. Then there was the second degree and *Univ* became conscious of itself as possessing the Attributes in detail. After this stage of Imaginary Existence, the Being remained with intelligence as a result of determination, and Universal Intelligence came into being. *Bedl* explains the nature of intelligence (*فهم*), *معرفة* (knowledge), *ملاحظة* (observation), *هولي* (holiness) etc., which, he says, are all conceptual entities. *Bedl* further says, *مظاهر* (manifestations), *صور* (forms), and, by a further determination, changed into bodies, and revolved about. *Bedl* enumerates all the heavens, with their characteristics, and tells of which Attribute each is the manifestation. He states that the heavens of the Saturn, the Jupiter, the Mars, the Sun, the Venus, the Mercury, and the Moon are, respectively, the manifestations of the Attributes *پ* (the Lord), *عزم* (the Firmness), *نور* (the Light), *مصور* (the Form-giver), *محض* (the Pureness) and *مبدع* (the Manifest). Each of these attributes produces the effect inherent in it. *Bedl* holds that the entire creation is the manifestation of the Names and Attributes of God. As regards the four elemental spheres of fire, air, water, and earth, *Bedl* tells that these are the effects of the Names *سوز* (the Searing), *حي* (the Enlivening), *ملي* (the Lifting up) and *مستقر* (the Settling) respectively.

Descent ended with earth, and then Ascent ensued, because everything tends to return to its origin. In this way three kingdoms of minerals, vegetables and animals proceeded respectively from the Names *عزيم* (the Mighty), *رب* (the Sovereign), and *مراد* (the Subduer). Man being the lowest of creatures appeared last of all, and was the manifestation of the Name *جمع* (the Comprehensive). *Bedl* waxes eloquent when he reaches here:

قد بمن کنوی که شاهد راز بهر این خلق بود در تگ و تاز  
مزل سیر مهر و ماه این بود مرکز سیرت و سیر این بود  
چشم حسن این زمان بخود باشد حیرت آینه تماشا شد

[Now it became doubly known that the Hidden Beauty

Had been making efforts for this manifestation.]

1. While speaking about the celestial universe, *Bedl* has mentioned the following also:

لنگ نامن ' آسمان سبع ' جرح احلس ' عرض غلوم ' براح ' آسمان صاعق

This was the destination of the journey, through heavens, of  
the Sun and Moon, and

This was the pivot of the revolution of the nine heavens

The eye of Beauty now opened on Itself, and

Bewilderment became the mirror of manifestation.]

At this stage, with an emphatic appeal to Man, the purport of which is :

گرچه واسطه دل خاکی برتر از صد هزار آفتابی

[Although you have been thrown down on the earth,

You are superior to a hundred thousand heavens.]

the *Masnavi Mir'atulah* ends.<sup>1</sup> Several philosophical doctrines and various problems of Natural science have also been discussed in the *Masnavi*, but I have ignored them, because an independent treatise is required to do them justice.

As soon as *Mir'atulah* ends, the *Masnavi 'Irfān* begins. Bedil says:

می شود ساز نسخهٔ عرفان قصهٔ از توبهٔ انسان

[The composition of the poem, '*Irfān*, becomes

A story through the attention of Man ]

He tells that, as *Mir'atulah* was an old composition, he was writing a poem which embodied fresh thoughts. The poem commences with the expression of a sense of bewilderment by Man because he was unable to understand the cause of beauty and of restlessness of spirit found universally in the world. Man, therefore, approached the sun for a solution of the dilemma, and was told that everything was due to Man himself. The sun then proceeded to illustrate it by a story, which ended with the end of the *Masnavi*. The story has been told in ten chapters. In the course of the poem several topics have been discussed, relative importance of many occupations has been emphasised, and numerous stories have been told. These features have made the *Masnavi* a comprehensive poem. As indicated in the beginning of this discussion, I would only give the bare outlines of the chapters.

The sun told Man about a gnostic who lived at the foot of a mountain. The gnostic had ten sons, and when he was dying, they requested him to advise them. They were told that the life had too little a span. Still, he added, one should try to attain perfection in keeping with one's capacities. With these words the gnostic breathed his last. After his death, his sons were absolutely idle for some time, and they were thus put into straitened circumstances. One day they sat together and decided that they should not sit idle any longer.

1. Bedil's theory of mental evolution includes genii and angels too. He holds that angels are superior to men. These points too have been discussed here,

The eldest brother remarked that as they had different capacities and dissimilar views about life, they should first of all decide what should be done, lest owing to the unsuitableness of the aim, they should fail in spite of their best efforts. The youngest said that he would act upon the decisions arrived at by his elder brothers, but he could not refrain from saying that the life of poverty and helplessness was most troublesome, and only the rich people led a respectable life and their wishes alone were fulfilled in the world. Bedil tells here the story of a rich man who bought a fair-faced slave-girl, brought in the market by a trader, while a poor man, who loved her passionately, was consumed by love. After this story the chapter ends<sup>1</sup>. Besides this, eight<sup>2</sup> other stories too have been told in this chapter. Bedil has most emphatically denounced here the effortless life, and has preached that our life should be characterised by constant struggle and ceaseless activity. Study the following verses :

حیفه پای که باد از رفتار وای دستی کزو نیاید کار

[Sorry for the feet which have ceased to walk, and  
Woe unto the hands which do not work.]

کار صاحب نفس مردن نیست که فسردها بنیر مردن نیست

[A living person should not be spiritless,  
Because only the dead are spiritless.]

همت آسودگی نمی جوید شعله تا وقت مرگ می پوید

[High endeavour will never seek rest,  
The flame runs up till its death.]

The second chapter<sup>3</sup> is about peasantry. Towards the end of the first chapter, we left the ten sons of the gnostic deliberating about the choice of an occupation. In that chapter the occupations<sup>4</sup> of the scholar, the painter, the tailor, the weaver, the blacksmith, and of the butcher were mentioned, and every occupation was considered to be honourable. In this chapter the peasants have been praised for they are the backbone of the society in every country, and it is due to them that everyone prospers in the world. Bedil tells a story how the minister of a king lured the peasant to the paradise, but, Bedil adds, this paradise is being reduced to hell owing to the greed of the kings. Most sadly Bedil remarks :

تا بهائی رسید سخی شرور کز مزارع نماند جز مزدور

[The doings of the proud people have resulted in  
Reducing the tenant to the position of a labourer.]

At this stage the story of a ca has been told which lived in the

1. Kulhyat-e-Safdar, 'Irfa', pp. 51-52.

2. Ib.d., pp. 47, 43, 46, 47, 43, 52, 54, 56.

3. 'Irfa', pp. 72-81.

4. Ib.d. pp. 51-53.

wilderness to protect the rats from the vultures, and Bedil says that apparently just laws are framed to safeguard the interests of the peasantry, but in practice the poor folk are shorn of their fleece; Bedil is therefore, of the opinion that it is a crime to be weak in the world :

نرسی آنت نمیبی\* دیگر است      خربین پنبه نذر یکد شرراست  
نیست از دست ناتوان مالی      مور را چاره زه مالی

[Softness is another misfortune,

The heap of cotton is reduced to ashes by a single spark.

On account of being weak and humble

The ant needs must be trampled down.]

and further :

گرز سختی الم نمی بردند      سنگ را همچو آب می حرراند  
[If its hardness were not to trouble them,

The people would have devoured stones like water.]

*The third chapter*<sup>1</sup> describes the blessings of trade and commerce. It is because of this occupation that one can undertake journeys to new cities and fresh lands and the wealth of the whole world is brought to one's own country. Moreover, the traders bring a wealth of information which could not be obtained otherwise. Bedil tells a long tale of learned men who reached the source of the Ganges and found out why its water was so sweet and pure, simply by adopting the profession of traders. It is a romantic tale, with thrilling incidents described most impressively, and forms a good short story told in verse. The moral of the story is contained in this couplet :

همت مرد اگر کمند شود      آسمان تا کجا بلند شود

[If the high-mindedness of Man were to serve as rope-ladder,

The sky could not be too high.]

As in the chapter Bedil talked about the learned men, *the fourth chapter*<sup>2</sup> has been devoted to learning, enumerating its advantages. Above all, Bedil says, immortality can only be attained by learning. Here the story of Alexander the Great has been told who wanted to enjoy eternal life, and was therefore in search of the Water of Life. Bedil concludes that Alexander could not get the water, but he was made immortal by Aristotle, who wrote a book about the exploits of the conqueror. In the beginning of this chapter, Bedil displayed his ingenuousness by discussing the novel ideas suggested by the forms of the Persian letters.

*The fifth chapter*<sup>3</sup> deals with scientific philosophy (حکمت). We know Bedil starts with noumena and gradually comes to the phenomena. In this chapter Bedil says that God's first Illumination was

1. *Asfār*, pp. 81-94.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-103.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 103-117.

through His Attribute حکیم (the Wise) and then through His wisdom gradually created the heavens, the elements, and the three kingdoms. Interest develops when Bedil begins to talk about mineralogy.<sup>1</sup> He tells how the different precious stones and the metals appeared, and also he gives proofs to show that minerals too have intelligence and feelings of love. While speaking of vegetables, Bedil proves that in them intelligence is at a higher level and hence purposive activity begins, and also memory, senses of hearing and sight, and modesty are discernible to a certain extent. In this evolutionary process, according to Bedil, moisture miraculously gives birth to animal soul, and movement from one place to another commences. Cavity appears in the body and thus enteric system, lungs, liver, brain, and other organs and faculties are developed. At this stage we see only instinctive activity. Evolution culminates in Man, and here again<sup>2</sup> Bedil cannot contain himself :

آنچه از علم راز می گفتم      چون به آنجا رسیدم آشتیم  
بر زبان نام آدم آمد      در نظر هر دو عالم آمد

[Whatever I spoke of my knowledge of secrets,  
I got bewildered when I reached here.

The name of Man reached my tongue, and

Immediately both the worlds were before my eyes.]

Man is the most advanced stage of organic evolution and hence the qualities of the mineral, the vegetable, and the animal souls are in Man in their most perfect form. The soul of Man, Bedil says, appertains to the spiritual world, and its perpetual strivings upwards, to reach God, elevate it over everything else. Bedil devotes a few pages to transmigration of souls too, and relates two stories about it, one related to him by a Hindu friend belonging to Southern India, and the other a true story which developed before his own eyes in Bihār. He appears to be impressed by these stories, but still he remarks that had the theory of the transmigration of souls been true, other nations and religions in the world too would have believed in it.

The next chapter<sup>3</sup> is about the kings and their ways. Bedil says that the king who is just and who cherishes his subjects is indeed the shadow of God upon the earth. About the resolution of kings he says :

1. Wisdom or Knowledge of God is one of His Attributes which forms the basis of the theory of creation. Cf. Mas'ûdî, *Divine Mystical Thought and Its Sources*, p. 115. The next chapter of the book, dealing with Hikmat, may be studied for understanding Bedil properly.

2. Ibn-e-Sina wrote a treatise about Mineralogy which was for a long time studied in the West. Cf. Susherey, A. M. A., *Outlines of Islam-Culture*, I, p. 134.

3. Read similar outbursts, p. 209 supra.

4. *Irshād*, pp. 118-134.



دو جهان گر بسیل خون برود دامن عزم شاه تر نشود

[If both the worlds were to be swept away by the torrent of blood,

A king's resolution would not falter.]

In support of this Bedil has related two very nice stories. The *sixth* story has the elements of romance, epic, tragedy, and comedy, all splendidly brought together in one place. The expression is as elegant and as impressive as could be expected of Bedil. The high ambition and resolute will of kings remind Bedil of alchemists who, in view of the great advantages of gold, show equally great determination and spend the whole of their lives in this pursuit. The *seventh chapter* of the *Masnawi*, therefore, has been devoted to alchemy, and Bedil tells the story of an alchemist whose endeavours bore fruit in his old age, and whose knowledge and experience proved useful to another man, after the alchemist had sacrificed himself for the attainment of his object. All along in the course of this chapter Bedil used only the terminology connected with alchemy.

The *eighth chapter* is about enchantment, and Bedil says that this too is a true Art. Bedil expresses the opinion that the throne of the Queen of Sheba was brought to Solomon by the force of magic. Bedil relates here three stories to prove his assertions, and one of the stories is about his friend, one Guani, a poor fellow from Balisar, who under the influence of magic, found himself transplanted to Nigz Hills, where he led a lordly life, in a citadel, for full one year.

The *ninth chapter* is about intellect and reason. Here Bedil urges people to cherish noble aims, and forbids them to pursue mean and low sciences like alchemy and magic. He attaches utmost importance to intellect and says that it mirrors the universe and is the body of the soul. He would not tolerate contented puny people, but would praise and welcome the noble-spirited persons, full of love for high intellectual pursuits, and fond of bold endeavour. He says, a man of this type :

که زمی که آسمان گردد هرچه هوش پسند آن گردد

[Is at times the earth then the heaven ;

He becomes whatever he desires to be.]

In this chapter Bedil again relates stories. One is about a Brahman who was in search of the Effulgence of the Necessary Being and who learnt that not the sensible but the thoughts<sup>4</sup> are the Reality. The other story is about a Jew who did not believe in the Ascension

1. *Urfa*, pp. 135-142.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 142-152.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 152-162.

4. About Thoughts being the basis of Reality, see p. 208 *supra*.

to shes of the ho y Prophet of Islam, but, by a strange coincidence of supernatural character, he readily began to believe in it.

Bedl has been relating all this time the discourse made by the sun before Man, who wanted to understand the cause of beauty and restlessness in the Universe, and the sun had said that it was due to Man himself. In order to illustrate it, the sun had related the story of the ten sons of a gnostic who sat making deliberations, after the death of their father, about the choice of an occupation. Their discussions and consultations have brought us to this stage. The eldest brother, winding up whatever had been said on the point, remarked that the accomplishments, relating to their corporeal being, were of a limited character and they should, therefore, develop the capacities of their hearts and souls which would take them high up into the heavens. They, therefore, agreed to adopt Faqr (Poverty of soul, i.e. mysticism) as their profession, and love became their guiding spirit. This was the path of self-annihilation, but it did not mean any congealing of life's blood. On the other hand it meant restlessness of soul, constant struggle, and consuming love for the noblest Ideals. The sun told Man that in this way, in a year, every vestige of their sensual desires and earthly ambitions was gone, and the ten brothers were transformed into spirits and are now known as the ten Intelligences.

This is the end of the tenth chapter<sup>1</sup> and then the *epilogue*<sup>2</sup> follows, in which Bedl speaks about the Transcendence of God in this way:

او نه باغ و نه گل نه رنگ و نه بوست هر قدر او کنی تصور اوست

[He is neither the garden, nor the rose, nor the odour

Whatever is pointed to be 'He' is but His conception.]

قرب تحقیق او مجال تو نیست شیر او گفتن احتمال تو نیست

[It is impossible for you to come nearer to comprehending Him, and

[It is not possible for you to call H'm except by the pronoun He.]

تا کجا حرفه کبریا گوئیم سخت دوریم تا کجا نوئیم

[How long should I speak about the Almighty?

We are far away. How should we speak?]

This is a brief summary of the contents of *ʿIrfān*, and, although the verses have been rendered freely, I have tried to make a correct exposition of the poet's thoughts. The summary may be inadequate, but I think all the essential points have been carefully analysed. As regards the style, this Masnavi embodies all the virtues

1. *ʿIrfān*, pp. 162-65.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

of Bedil's other Masnavis. It describes scenes, landscapes, and towns; it relates thrilling stories, delineates character, and discusses moral, philosophy and mysticism. No doubt, the Masnavi *Mirdūlat* is boring; but *ʿIrfān* itself, on account of its perfect and graphic expression, absorbing stories, lively character-sketches, and usefulness in everyday life, is full of interest. The stories of the rich man who bought slave-girls, and the scholars<sup>2</sup> who went to find out the source of the Ganges, and also the tragic-comic<sup>3</sup> story of Kamdi and Madar, have been told in an exquisite manner, and Bedil's Art is here at its best. Besides the literary interest of the poem and its thought-provoking discussions, its practical value, as I have hinted above, is by no means negligible. It lays premium on a life of struggle, and all through it a spirit of enterprise has been inculcated, so much so that Bedil's definitions of توکل and مر make one feel that instead of encouraging lethargy and inertia, their very conception means only a life of activity and endeavour:

|                       |                       |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| هر که تخمی ز صرمی کرد | انظار نتیجه دارد      |
| کار ناکرده مزد خواست  | دارد از انفعال گلست   |
| ای بتدبیر جستجو عاری  | انفعال است مزد بکاری  |
| کاهی را گنی توکل نام  | اینست گمراهی تصور خام |

[Whoever sows the seed of patience,  
He is only waiting for the result (of his efforts).  
To ask for remuneration without having put in work,  
Is extremely shameful.  
O thou who art devoid of endeavour,  
It is shameful to get remuneration for idleness.  
You call idleness to be trust in God,  
Silly, your vain thoughts have gone astray.]

In view of these peculiarities of *ʿIrfān*, we hold Bedil justified if he was proud<sup>4</sup> of it.

##### 5. MASNAVI TANBIHUL MUHAWWISIN.

It is a small Masnavi, of 210 couplets, about alchemy.<sup>5</sup> It rebukes the alchemists very strongly for their vain efforts, and directs them instead to transform and sublimate their thoughts and sentiments. All the terms used by alchemists have been mentioned by the poet in such a manner that they contribute to the exposition of Bedil's views about the realities of life. The Masnavi has two sections. In the first, general remarks have been made, and in the second a story

1, 2 and 3 *ʿIrfān*, pp. 66-72, 83-94, 121-134 respectively.

4 See p. 207 *supra*.

5. *Kuliyāt-e-Safiat*, Qasid, pp. 64-57.

has been related about an alchemist who gave up his life in the pursuit of his accursed Art. *Khushig* says<sup>1</sup> that Bedi did never believe in the efficaciousness of this Art.

## 6. THE DESCRIPTIVE MAŠNAVI.

Descriptions of the sword, the horse, and the elephant in verse, having the same metre, exist in the *Kulliyāt*<sup>2</sup> of Bedi. The aim of the poet has been to describe the appearance and the work of these things. Although their performances in the battlefield have also been mentioned, the poet's treatment of his subject is mostly fanciful, abounding in conceits. In view of all these similarities, I am of the opinion that these descriptions do not constitute different poems, but form different sections of the same poem. And as, like a *Mašnavi*, all the verses rhyme differently, I conclude that the poem is a *Mašnavi*. It has in all 536 couplets: 391 about the horse, 100 about the elephant, and 45 about the sword. As it is apparent from the number of verses, the horse has been described more elaborately. About a hundred couplets have been written about its general peculiarities, and then its head, neck, mane, fatness, shoulders, mouth, teeth, eyes, ears, tail, hair, and neighing have been dealt with one by one. The description is forceful, and shows the love of a *Mughal* of Central Asia for a horse. The largest number of verses, i.e. 49, have been written about the neighing of the horse, and the next place has been given to its mane for which 33 verses have been composed. The elephant reminds us that we are moving in the Indian environment. Specimens are now given below.

*The sword when it is red with blood :*

بهر جا کنی خلعت خون بر  
ز شاخ زمرد چکد لعل تر  
لبت گر شود تر بخون عدو  
نماید شفق دردم صبح او

[Whenever you put on the robe of blood,  
Wet rubies trickle down the emerald branch.  
If your lips become wet with the blood of the enemy,  
It appears as if twilight has appeared at the time of morning.]

*The horse running swiftly :*

چو سرگرم جولان گری می شود  
هوا شیشه آن پری می شود  
چو باوچه مستانه آید برون  
قیامت زمیخانه آید برون

[When it is engaged in a swift race,  
The air becomes a glass for this fairy.  
When it comes out dancing ecstatically,  
A resurrection comes out of the tavern.]

1. *Khushig*, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedi*, *Ma'arif Library*, *Kābul*, Man. No. 504-9, ls. 51-66.

*The elephant's firm stand and calm walk :*

ستاده است هر جا ز طبع درشت      زمینی چار سیخ است و گردول دو پشت  
قدم هر کجا در روالی فشرده      بآواز پیش کسی نهی نبرد

[Wherever it stands firmly,

The earth gets tortured and the sky is backed.

Wherever it places its foot in walking,

None can hear the sound ]

## 7. IŞHĀRĀT O HİKĀYĀT

As it is apparent from Appendix A, this is not an independent work but consists of selected verses from the four *Maṣnavīs* of Bedil: *Muhit-e-A'zam*, *Ṭilism-e-Hairat*, *Tūr-e-Ma'rīfat*, and *'Irḡān*, and also from *Chahār 'Unsur*—the poet's autobiography in prose. As the selections are not from a single poem they do not have the same metre throughout. The printed title of *Ishārāt-o Hikāyāt* discloses that it is related to *Nikāṭ*<sup>1</sup>—another similar work of Bedil in prose, but as the selections are mostly from the poet's *Maṣnavīs*, it was befitting to treat about the work in this chapter. But no detailed discussion of the work is necessary, as all the works, from which the selections have been made, have been treated separately in these pages. In the Appendix, however, I have given the subject-matter against every selection.

1. In the Appendix at a few places, pages of the works, from which the verses have been taken, have not been given simply because I could not find out the particular pages. The metre and subject-matter of the verses, however, disclose the work from which they have been selected. At two places I could neither determine the work nor the page.

2. See p 300 infra.

## CHAPTER VI

# Qasaid, Quatrains, Mukhammasat, Tarkib Band, Tarji' Band, Fragments and Riddles of Bedil

### I. QASĀID

Lik<sup>1</sup> *Ghazal* and *Maṣnavī*, *Qasīda* also had reached the highest point of its development when Bedil was born in 1034 A.H. (1644 A.D.). Beginning with Raudakī,<sup>2</sup> numberless poets had written *Qasāid*, and even during the Mughal period, up to the birth of Bedil, several illustrious poets like 'Urfī (d. 999/1590-1), Faizī (d. 1004/1595-6), Nazīrī (d. 1023/1614), Tālib Āmulī (d. 1036/1625-7), and Qudsi (1036/1646, had very successfully tried their hands in panegyric-writing, and perfect specimens of the highest art were, therefore, available to Bedil in plenty. No doubt, Bedil was averse<sup>3</sup> to writing *Qasīdas* like the professional masters of the art, as he says most scornfully :

شعری کہ در دل آرزوی گدیده پرورد  
بر معنیش بشاش و بر الفاظ اویری

[As for the couplet, which nourishes in the heart a desire for  
begging,

Please urinate on its meaning and stool on its words.]

but, in view of the splendid potentialities<sup>4</sup> of *Qasīdas*, in being the most impressive vehicle for expressing strong emotions and sublime thoughts, Bedil could not neglect it altogether. Sincerity was the primary feeling of Bedil. He says, while expressing his attitude towards *Qasīdas* :

مداح فطرتم نه ظاہیرم نه انوری

[I praise Nature. I am neither Zāīr nor Anwārī.]

1. Shibli, *Shi'rat 'Ajam*, V, pp. 18-20, pages 180-2 supra of this work.

2. Ibid., I, p 31.

3. Page 53 Supra.

4. Shibli, *Shi'rat 'Ajam*, V, p. 19.

As such Bedil has praised, out of the fullness of his heart and without having any worldly end in view, only those persons whom he admired passionately. In doing so he wrote sometimes replicas<sup>1</sup> to the famous Qaṣīdas of the master-poets like Anwarī (d. 1189-91 A.D.), Khāqānī (d. 1185 A.D.), Zahir Fāryābī (d. 1201 A.D.) Amir Khusrau of Delhi (d. 1325 A.D.) and Muḥammad Jamālud Dīn 'Urfī (d. 1590-1 A.D.) and we see that, on account of spontaneity, loftiness, and vigour of both thought and expression, he has carved out a niche for himself among these great writers. His Qaṣīd may be small in number but in quality they rank among the best specimens of the Art. This would become clear when we have studied his Qaṣīd one by one.

*The First Qaṣīda*<sup>2</sup> The prototype of this Qaṣīda of Bedil is the famous Qaṣīda *Manṭiqul Ṭayyir* of Khāqānī – a replica<sup>3</sup> to which has been written by Amir Khusrau as well. Khāqānī wrote his Qaṣīda in praise of the holy Prophet. It has two parts (درمطبع) and 67 couplets in all. In the first part there is a description of the Ka'ba, and in the second, the prologue (تشبيب) consists of a dialogue between different birds, which praise their own beloveds until their caliph, the phoenix, arrives, and from there a transition (گزين) is made to eulogise the holy Prophet. Bedil, too, has two parts, but the number of his verses is 163, and, in spite of the length of his Qaṣīda, its flow and force continue unabated to the end. In the first part there is a brief description of a garden in the spring season, and in the second we see a maid of charming beauty having a walk through the garden. The description of her beauty is matchless, and elegant words and beautiful phrases have been used most powerfully. For example :

جلوه طرف عذار سمعه چندین بحر حلقه گیسوی ناز دام هزار آفتاب

[The splendour of her cheeks was like the light of many mornings, and

The curls of her proud hair were snares for a thousand suns]

1. Vide the discussion that follows.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī Qasid*, pp. 21-24.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Khāqānī* p. 78; Amir Khusrau, *Arṭūyātul Kamā*, p. 43, *Shāhīnshāh Dīn, Afkār-e-Shāhīn*, p. 39, The opening lines of Khāqānī, Amir Khusrau, and Bedil respectively are :

۱ - زد نفس من بر بزم صبح مطلع نقاب

۲ - صبح جو آفتاب را چشیده نمود از نقاب

۳ - ذی که زیاد بحر طره شب خورد تاب

نه تبحر گداز غمزه آیدت طراز حسن ادا فتنه ساز طرز نگه شعله تاب

[Her splendour was marvellous, her coquetry was killing

Her manners were bewitching, and the manner of her glances in flames.]

When the lovely maid wanted to leave the garden :

سزه پائیش نهاد کل بکراتش رکاب

[Verdure fell on her feet and roses held her stirrups.]

At this stage the nightingale arrived and began to say how painful it was that the life of the flower was so short :

کی که بسالی نرد خیمه باغ وجود باز بدشت عدم از چه نماید شتاب

[The rose did not pitch its tent in the garden of existence for a year,

Why then does it quickly rush back to the wilderness of non-existence ?]

The nightingale continued her sad tale for some time and asked, when death was so common, how one could be happy in life. The wise maid first told the profound universal truth :

آنچه ندارد دوام نیست بغیر از تلف آنچه نه بندد ثبات نیست بجز انقاب

[Nothing but destruction is eternal, and

Nothing but change is constant]

and then added that the safest way in the circumstances was to keep in view always the charming beauty of the holy Prophet. From this place the Qasida, as such, begins and the poet's feelings begin to mount. In the heat of emotion and at the height of inspiration, the hemstitches are automatically divided into halves, sometimes rhyming mutually and sometimes without rhyme.

در هرس خدمتش نازش پست و بلند خاک رنجام حسین چرخ زوینع رقاب

ابر زهر قطره اش بسمل بوس قدم مهر زهر ذره اش کشته طوف رکاب

[High and low alike feel proud of a desire to serve him

The dust by its table-cloth of forehead, and the sky by the laying down of its neck.

The cloud is eager to kiss his footprints with every one of its drops, and

The sun has an earnest desire to go round his stirrups with every one of his atoms.]

In this state of emotion the poet coins excellent titles for the holy Prophet :

خسرو وحدت کلام شاه قدم بارگاه یمن تنزه صیام صدر مدس جناب

[The king having Unity as his crown, and the monarch having Eternity as his court, and

The full moon having transcendence as his lustre, and the exalted and holy sovereign.]



While expressing his inability to praise the Prophet in a befitting manner, he uses a nice original simile :

یا نبی الایضی من که و مدحت کجا رشته نه مدد چرخ ساز طین ذهاب

[O my dear the Muslim Prophet I who am I to praise thee ?  
The buzzing of a fly has no relation with the heaven]

It is a very eloquent Qasida. Its diction shows Bedil's perfect mastery over language. Everything has been described very impressively. The metaphors and similes are fresh and appropriate, raw and powerful phrases have been coined quite spontaneously, and novel conceits and the figure poetical acrobatics develop quite naturally. Şalihîd Dîn, an Afghân writer, declares that this Qasida is in every respect, superior to its prototype by Şahîqanî.

*The Second Qasida*<sup>2</sup> It is an imitation of 'Urfî's Qasida and has been written in praise of the holy Prophet. From the very beginning a passionate address has been made to him without observing the usual formality of having a prologue. The word *ک* is repeated as a refrain after the rhyming letters, and hence the whole imagery has been limited to the narrow confines of a garden. In spite of this, in the 75 couplets of the Qasida, its force nowhere diminishes. On the other hand, with every new verse its vigour increases and an addition is made to the colourfulness of the Qasida. The following couplet, expressing the poet's love for the holy Prophet, is remarkable :

یاد وصلتی نورچون چون رونق آیته آب  
داع شمش زیب دل چون زیت دستار گل

[The memory of union with him is the light of life, as the splendour of the mirror is its lustre  
The branch of his love decorates the heart as the flower is an

ornament for the turban]

*The Third Qasida*<sup>3</sup> Here Bedil has replied<sup>4</sup> to Zahir Fāryābî who praised Mulla Nasrat d Dîn<sup>5</sup> in a Qasida congratulating him on

1 Şalihîd Dîn, *Alkhat-e-Şahîr* p. 33.

2 *Kamûşat-e-Şahîdî, Qasidat*, p. 24-3.

3 *Urfî Dîwan*, pp. 80-81. 'Urfî wrote his Qasida in praise of Emperor Akbar. His first verse being :

لو بهار آمد که افشاند به حسن یار گل چون روزگار رس و هر سار گل

4 *Kamûşat-e-Şahîdî, Qasidat*, pp. 24-29.

5 *Qasidat-e-Zahir Fāryābî*, p. 17. The opening verse of Zahir is :

سپیده دم چو رند آید خیمه در گهر گل ز سراج به خبوت رود تبقیه یار

'Urfî too has a Qasida, having the rhyme and metre, in praise of Hazrat 'Alî. In his Qasida 'Urfî has sworn himself to his love for Hazrat 'Alî, but it appears Bedil had a different view while writing his Qasida. For 'Urfî's Qasida see, 'Urfî, *Qasidat*, 15-24.

6: Adenex Nasratud Dîn Abū Bakr of Ārābshā-e-Jān. See Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, II, p. 416.

ascending the throne of his uncle Qizil Arslān. The Qasīda of the renowned panegyric writer is very famous, and Shibli Naʿmānī has quoted<sup>1</sup> the following verse from it in his *Shiʿr al-ʿAjam* :

چمن هنور لب از شیر آب نایسته      چو شاهدان خط سبزش دمیده گرد عذار

[The garden had not yet washed the milk of clouds from its lips, but

Like the fair ones its downs grew round its cheeks.]

The Qasīda of Zahir has one مطلع only, but that of Bedl has سه مطلع (three parts), and has 288 couplets of exquisite literary value. Zahir is known<sup>2</sup> for his original conceits, elegant and impressive combinations of words, and subtle and charming similes. In these pages, Bedl too has been praised again and again for these peculiarities, and, when we know that, in this respect to Zahir Faryābī, Bedl has eulogised the holy Prophet of Islam, whom he loved more than anything else in the world, we can easily imagine with what warmth of feeling and with what force of diction he would have composed the Qasīda. I quote only the following verses and leave the judgment with my readers :

بغیر درس تو علم جهانان باطل  
بغیر حکم تو اعمال انس و جان بیکار  
تو هر طرف که هدایت کنی همان جبهه  
بسوی هر چه بشارت کنی همان دیدار  
عطا همان که پسندد توبه گرفت  
خط همان که نوازش زد کنی زهی مختار  
اگر بهبود و نصاری خدا پرستانند  
بدرج کفر اسیرند چون توی بیزار  
سری که گرم هوای توییست شمع صفت  
ز شعله رگ گردن بسوردش دستار

[Without your teachings the knowledge of the inhabitants of the world is null and void.

Without your command the doings of Man and the Geni are useless.

Whichever way you direct thither is the Qibla, and

To whatever thing you point that is the vision.

Whatever your kind attention likes is a gift, and

Whatever you disapprove is the sin yours being the authority.

Although the Jews and Christians worship God,

But since you are disgusted, the brand of infidelity is their fate.

1. Shibli, *Shiʿr al-ʿAjam*, V p. 5.

2. Ibid. pp. 4-5.

The head which is not warmed by the fire of love for  
like the candle,  
By the flame of the jugular vein, will have its turban con-  
sumed ]

*The Fourth Qasida*. It is an original Qasida in praise of A-  
Hasan Asadullāh al-Qhālīb 'Alī Ibn-e-Abī Tālib—the illustrious  
in-law of the holy Prophet. The prologue consists of a statement  
the wickedness of the heaven, wherein the crescent has been likened  
to the claws of a wolf. Bedil says that only that person who takes  
refuge with the revered 'Alī is safe from the viles of the sky. Having  
made transition to eulogy in this way, the poet praises 'Alī very force-  
fully for his strength, bravery, love of justice, magnanimity, sincere-  
vast and deep learning, and his knowledge of the Occult. The poet's  
fidelity to the holy personage can be gathered from this verse :

نحرها شد چون نفس در یاد او هر می زدم سالها بگذشت نبضم در خیرش می طبد  
[It is ages since like breath I have been flapping my wings =  
his memory, and

For many years my pulse has been beating with passion :  
devotion over thoughts of him ]

*The Fifth Qasida*.<sup>2</sup> This Qasida has a very difficult rhyme and  
a replica<sup>3</sup> to a Qasida by 'Urfl. Both the Qasidas have two parts  
but, while 'Urfl's has only 74 verses, Bedil's has got 178. Both the  
poets have mentioned heavenly bodies in their Qasidas, but Bedil's  
Qasida is decidedly more forceful. Bedil in his Qasida has sung  
praises of Hazrat 'Alī.

*The Sixth Qasida*.<sup>4</sup> This Qasida is a replica to the famous  
Shinīyya<sup>5</sup> of Khāqānī, replicas<sup>6</sup> to which had already been written  
by Amīr Khusrau, Jāmī, 'Urfl and others. The Qasida of Khāqānī  
has one Majma' and 78 verses, while that of Bedil has 'Sib Majma'  
(three parts) and 149 verses. The Shinīyya Qasidas of Khāqānī

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī, Qasīd, pp. 29-30.*

2. *Ibid., pp. 30-32.*

3. 'Urfl, *Qasīd, pp. 51-55.* The opening verses of 'Urfl and Bedil respec-  
tively are :

۱ - چهره پرداز جهان رخت کشاد چون بچم  
شب شود نیم رخ و روز شود مستقیل  
۲ - معرل الحوت هما متناسب نصیب حمل  
یافت طبع سبکی را پسماندر بیدل

4. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī, Qasīd, pp. 32-4*

5. *Shinīyya* is a poem which rhymes in *shin*.

6. *Kulliyāt-e-Khāqānī*, I, p. 2. 'Urfl, *Diwan* 61; Amīr Khusrau *Diwan*, Panjab  
University Library Mus. No. 2037, f. 18a, *Shāh-e-Ladī, Akbar-e-Safdar*, p. 3.  
*Wahid Murza's Life and Works of Amīr Khusrau*, p. 161.

Amir Khusrau, and Jāmi are didactic in nature, but that of Bedil is in praise of Hazrat 'Alī. Khāqānī, in his Qasida, had made references to numerous doctrines of various sciences, and Bedil too has made allusions to many topics of History, different verses of the holy Qur'ān and the Sayings of the holy Prophet, and to diverse problems of mysticism, metaphysics, and philosophy. In point of expression also Bedil's Qasida is not inferior in any respect. It seems, however, to gain in elegance. For example these verses of praise:

ترحم آفرین ذاتش شفاعت پرور اخلاقش  
کرم تصویر الطافش نجات ایجاد احسانش

[His nature is compassionate, his disposition is intercessory,  
His favours are munificent, and his benevolence ensures  
salvation.]

حیا مشوبه آدابش وفا بیان انسایش  
بهشت اطوار اصحابش جیم آثار اعدایش

[His manner springs from modesty, his lineage is known  
for good faith,

His companions have amiable manners, and his enemies are  
repulsive as hell.]

*The Seventh Qasida*<sup>2</sup> *Sawad-e-A'zam*, the title of the Qasida, which occurs at its end, is a chronogram, and yields the date 1082 A.H. (1671-2 A.D.). It means Bedil was only twenty eight years old when he wrote this Qasida. Its prototype is the famous Qasida, *Daryā-e-Abrar*, of Amir Khusrau. Bedil was not the first poet to use it as model,<sup>3</sup> but before him Jāmi (d. 898/1492) and Mir 'Alī Shīr Nawāī (d. 906/1501) also had used it as a pattern while writing their Qasidas *Lajlatul Asrar* and *Bahṛul Afkār* respectively. All the Qasidas are didactic and Bedil also was true to the tradition. Amir Khusrau, in every one of the verses of his *Daryā-e-Abrār*, had made an assertion<sup>4</sup> in the first hemistich, which was aptly illustrated in the second. Now this figure, i.e. aptness of illustration,

1. Shibli, *Shī'ru'l 'Ajam*, V, p. 7.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Qasā'id* pp. 34-6

3. Amir Khusrau, *Diwān*, Panjab University Library Ms. No 2037, f. 36a; All Shīr Nawāī, *Majma'us Nafais*, p. 358; Wahid Mirza, *Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, 161, *foot note* No. 2. The opening lines of Amir Khusrau, Jāmi, 'Alī Shīr Nawāī, and Bedil are, respectively:

۱- کیوس شد بخالی و یانگه غبطش درد سراست  
۲- کنگر ایوان شد کز کاخ کیون برتر است  
۳- آتشیں لعلی که تاج خسروان را زیور است  
۴- در هریم خاک مرا سوئی پیری رهبر است

4. Shibli, *Shī'ru'l 'Ajam*, II, p. 133.

had been popularised,<sup>1</sup> during the times of Bedil, by Kalir (d.1061/1951) and Šāb (d. 1080/1669), and Bedil too had developed a great affinity<sup>2</sup> for it. In these circumstances it was but natural for Bedil to compete with Amir Khusrau, where some other illustrious masters of the Art had also tried their luck. The Qaṣida of Bedil has 158 verses in three parts (سه مطلع), and he has also displayed his mastery in the use of the figure "aptness of illustration". The following verses are cited as example:

معنی عاشق را بجهد مردم دنیا بسنج  
وحدت نفسان دیگر است و رقص بسمل دیگر است

[Don't weigh the endeavour of a lover with the struggle of a worldly person

The mock-dance of the children is different from the ecstatic swings of the lovers.]

بر دل آزاد از عزت میند انسدگی  
هر کجا آب روان پنج هست سنگ صریح است

[The freedom-loving heart should not be made to congeal to seclusion.

Wherever the running water changes into ice, it becomes marble.]

دل چو روشن گشت جاه و شوکتی در کار نیست  
بهر تسخیر جهان خورشید تنها لشکر است

[When the heart has been illumined, pomp and glory are needless.

For conquering the world, the Sun alone is an Army.]

Shibli Nu'mānī has quoted<sup>3</sup> the following verse of Amir Khusrau from his *Daryā-ṣ-Abṛār*, as the best specimen of his Art:

برد پنهان در گلیمی پادشاه عالم است تیغ خفته در نیاسی پنهان کشور است

[The hero hiding in the blanket is the ruler of the world just as.

The sword asleep in a scabbard is the guardian of the realm. When it is compared with the last verse of Bedil, quoted here by me, it loses much of its significance. It was because of this success in writing the Qaṣida that Bedil said to himself:

ترجمان اسرار بی چو نیست ورنه نزد علی  
نکته پردازی ضبطت این قدر کی باور است

[Interpreter are the secrets of the Absolute, otherwise as far as reason goes,

Production of so many conceits by your mind is incredible.]

1. Shibli *Shā'irul 'Ajam*, III, pp. 165, 179.

2. Pages 47-9 *supra*.

3. Shibli, *Shā'irul 'Ajam*, V, 25,

*The Eighth Qasida*<sup>1</sup> This Qasida has 54 couplets in all and its theme is "Love and its supreme value in life." It is a reply to a panegyric by Anwarī<sup>2</sup> After a digression to didactic topics it reverts to its main theme towards the end. There is nothing new in the whole of the Qasida except for the similes and metaphors with which the poet illustrates his propositions. For example he speaks about humility — a time-worn topic but made attractive owing to the brilliant simile :

چون به تو هر که آئین تو ضیع برد پیش  
طعت خود را چراغ خفت کشور یافته

[Like the new moon, one, who acts upon the principle of humility.

Will find his countenance illuminating the seven realms.]

But there is one verse which reveals the working of Bedil's mind. When he has said that ability is not attained easily, he remarks that, for a proper recognition of one's merits, the pomp and grandeur of Ibn-e-Sina, who was attached in his life to different kings as a minister, is required :

لاف دانش جز به سعی جاه نتوان پیش برد  
برعلی هم شهرت علم از کبر و فر یافته

[One cannot boast of learning unless his efforts seat him in a place of dignity.

Bedil was also known widely for his learning on account of his elevated rank.]

*The Ninth Qasida*,<sup>3</sup> The whole philosophy of Bedil revolves round his deep-rooted faith about the dignity of Man. His Metaphysics, we have seen,<sup>4</sup> have added unexampled weight to this faith, and whenever, therefore, he speaks about Man he waxes eloquent. This original<sup>5</sup> Qasida, of 95 couplets, has been dedicated by Bedil to his most favourite theme, i.e. Man, and its very opening verse declares with what force he is going to address :

ای شمع بزم قدس ندانم چه مظهری      کز و هم که روشن و گاهی مکردی

[O the candle of the banquet of sanctity ! I don't know what you do

By your phantasy, you are at times bright and then gloomy.]

The metre and rhyme of the Qasaid are very much suited for such a

1. *Kulliyāt-e Safdari, Qasaid*, p. 86-7

2. *Dīwān-e Anwarī*, 365. Anwarī's Qasida begins with the following line :

ای نهال مکرمت از عدل تو بر یافته

3. *Kulliyāt-e Safdari, Qasaid*, pp. 37-8

4. Page 247 *supra*

5. Anwarī too has four verses having this metre and rhyme. See *Dīwān-e Anwarī*, p. 749

forceful address, and it is due to this that here we come across some of the most emphatic utterances of Bedil. He tells Man :

در ملک بی معنی انزوں قری زچرخ اما بدلم هوس از ذره کمتری  
[In the realm of Pure Being, you are superior to the Heavens  
But in the land of greed you are inferior even to a particle of  
dust.]

در لفظ تست معنی گوان مندرج بهرچه بر حقیقت خود بی نمی بری  
[In your word the meaning of both the worlds has been  
compressed.]

Why don't you try to understand your reality ?]

شائل زخودبش که چون شمع آفتاب اقیال هفت محفل و نه تصرا خضری  
[Don't be forgetful of yourself, because like the Sun  
You are the glory of the seven assemblies, and the nine  
blue palaces.]

از هر شیئی که عقل تو نهید انضلی و ز هر مکان که فهم تو بی برد برتری  
[You are better than all those things which your intellect  
can realise,

And you are loftier than all those places where your understanding can reach.]

هر سو نگاه می رود آنجا تو رفته ای هر جا خیال می برد آنجا تو می بری  
[In whatever direction the sight goes, you have reached  
there, and

Wherever the wings of imagination fly, you fly there.]

These verses speak for themselves. Freshness of metaphors may, however, be enjoyed in the following verse :

بر نقش دل میند که طاؤس جنتی از لای سر بر آو که ماهی کوثری  
[Do not have a fancy for the image as you are the peacock  
of the garden of Eden,

Take your head out of the dregs, as you are the fish of the  
river Kauşar of Paradise.]

It is in this *Qasida* that Bedil says he would not offer his talents for sale in the market, where every Tom, Dick, and Harry is the customer, but he would only pour out his heart at his sweet will.

*The Tenth Qasida.*<sup>1</sup> It is again a replica<sup>2</sup> to Anwarī. It has a most difficult rhyme, and success in this *Qasida* shows Bedil's mastery

1. *Kullīyāt-e-Safdarī Qasid*, pp. 37-8.

2. *Diwan-e-Anwarī*, p. 242 The first verse of Anwarī goes :

ای سپاهت را طفر لشکر کش و دولت ینرک  
نه نفس پر طول و عرض لشکرت واقف به شک

And the opening verse of Bedil is :

وقت آنست که از گردش گردون فلک  
نقش سپهر از ورق روی زمین گردد حک

Only rhyme is similar here.

over language. Anwarī's Qasīda has only 23 couplets while Bedil's has 61. Bedil's theme is the criticism of the ways of the people.

*The Eleventh Qasīda.*<sup>1</sup> This Qasīda has been named *Muḥit-e-Bikarān* and is rich in conceits and visual imagery. It deals only with didactic subjects. It has been written as a replica<sup>2</sup> to a Qasīda by Khāqānī, in which the great master speaks about personal matters. The opening verse of Khāqānī is very brilliant, but in other respects both the Qasīdas are very meritorious. Both the poets employ the figure "aptness of illustration," though Bedil uses it more often. Moreover, in both the Qasīdas there are conceits, Bedil albeit grows more fanciful. The following verse of the master poets may be compared :

*Khāqānī :*

دل بند بر عشوه هائی آسمان زیرا که هیت  
بی سرو و بن کار هائی آسمان چون آسمان

[Don't be fond of the amorous playfulness of the sky, because  
The ways of the sky are groundless like itself.]

*Bedil :*

خفیف رنگی حسب وضع طالع طالع بلند  
نیست غیر از کهکشان نقش چین آسمان

[A paleness of colour is natural to the fortune of a high-minded person, as

The painting on the forehead of the sky is nothing but the milky-way.]

In the following verse Bedil speaks about betel-leaf—a thing connected exclusively with India—and this local colouring lends originality to his Qasīda :

برگ عیش سینه چاکان بی تلاش آماده است  
رخسها از خون حود دارند بو لب رنگ بان

[For us, who have a torn breast, the leaf of enjoyment is  
available without any effort, just as

The wounds have the dye of the betel leaf on their lips out  
of their own blood.]

*The Twelfth and the Thirteenth Qasīdas.*<sup>2</sup> Both the Qasīdas, having in all 68 verses, are in praise of Prince Muḥammad A'zam in whose service<sup>3</sup> Bedil remained for some time. Although the Qasīdas have a different rhyme, they are in the same metre, and the second Qasīda, therefore, appears to be a continuation of the first. From the second it

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Khāqānī*, p. 473. The opening lines of Khāqānī and Bedil are respectively :

۱- آسمان ای دل که وحشت زحمت آرد الامان

۲- جز تپه دستی ندارد بی سرو برگ افغان

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī, Qasīd* pp. 40-1.

3. Page 68 *supra*.



appears that Bedil expected that the Prince should patronise him. The following verses in the *Qasida* show that the Prince had promised the poet an award of a title but he said he was already the *Khān-e-Khānān* (خان خانان) of the domain of literature :

ی تکلیف خان خانان جهان معینم  
تا به تشریف شطرنج کرده اند امیدوار  
محو بودم کز چه خدمت قبلی این منصب  
قد ینیم کایقدرها یدلی کردست کار

[To speak unceremoniously, I am the *Khān-e-Khānān* of the world of conceits,

As they had made me a candidate for the title.

I was thinking deeply : as a reward for what service I deserve this *Manṣab* ?

I was sure that my heartlessness had wrought this miracle.]

But it appears that, as the poet resigned service dramatically,<sup>1</sup> he was not awarded the title.

The *Fourteenth Qasida*<sup>2</sup> is about a worn-out tent in which Bedil had to live at one time. The *Fifteenth*<sup>3</sup> was perhaps written when Nawāb *Khukrullāh Khān* arrived in Dehl'. In the *Sixteenth*<sup>4</sup> the poet congratulates the Prince on the birth of a son in 1107<sup>5</sup> A.H. (1695-6 A.D.). The *Seventeenth Qasida*<sup>6</sup> expresses Bedil's joy on the arrival of Nawāb *Shukrullāh Khān*, and is a model of sincerity. The *Eighteenth Qasida*<sup>7</sup> is very forceful and is the second replica to the *Shanīyya* of *Khazāni*. It is in praise of *Nizām-ul-Mulk* and was written after he had been made *Khān Daurān* by the Emperor *Shāh 'Ālam*. The chronogram<sup>8</sup> for the date of the award of the title is : خان دوران بهادر, which comes to 1124 A.H. (1712 A.D.). The *Nineteenth*<sup>9</sup> and the last *Qasida* shows utmost joy of Bedil which he felt on learning the news of the arrival of *Shākir Khān* son of Nawāb *Shukrullāh Khān*.

#### QUATRAINS

Ṣalāḥud Dīn, in his *Afkār-e Shā'ir* gives fourth<sup>10</sup> place, in point of merit, to the *Quatrain* of Bedil, and places his *Ghazals*, *Maṣnawīs*, and *Qasīd*, respectively before them. Bedil's contemporary and

1. Page 63 *supra*.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Qasīd* p. 41.

3. *Ibid*.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

5. Bedil gives the following chronogram

صبح مراد ملت و دین قله مراد

6. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Qasīd*, p. 42.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

8. *Āzād Bagrāmī*, *Ser-e Āzād*, p. 174.

9. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Qasīd*, p. 43.

10. Ṣalāḥud Dīn, *Afkār-e Shā'ir*, p. 60.

friend, Shaykh Sa'dulah Gulshan, once said<sup>1</sup> that it was Bedl's privilege alone to write Qatrains. It means Bedl's Quatrains may not rank high as compared with the other three classes of his verse mentioned above, but in themselves their artistic value cannot be underrated. Apart from their quality their number also is considerable. I know talk of a big collection of the quatrains of Bedl, but does not give their number. Dr. Etche, however, says<sup>2</sup> that the manuscript of Bedl's quatrains, transcribed seven years before the poet's death and existing in the India Office Library has 3,500 couplets in strictly a alphabetical order. One learned scholar believes that it is the most complete collection extant. In *Kulliyat-e-Safadi*, however, the number of quatrains, according to my counting, is 33.9.<sup>3</sup> This shows that, like Faridud Din 'Attar who wrote plenty<sup>4</sup> of Quatrains, Bedl too left a large number of them. In view of the number and high literary value of Bedl's quatrains, a volume is required to do anything like justice to them, thus a few observations are made here.

We know Bedl's first attempt<sup>5</sup> at versification appeared spontaneously in the form of a Rubai, in which he spoke in his childhood about the sweet odour breathed by a schoolmate. This shows Bedl's inherent aptitude for this class of verse. This aptitude was further strengthened by his association, from a very early age, with mystics who traditionally cherished Rubais. Prominent mystics like Shaykh Abul Hasan Ishaq (d. 425/1034-5), Shaykh Abd Sa'id Abul Fihar (d. 440/1049), 'Abdullah Anisi (d. 431/1039), and Faridud Din 'Attar (d. 657/1259), had distinguished themselves by writing Rubais about their experiences and other problems of mysticism. The Rubai has an inherent capacity for expressing a vast idea in the fewest possible words. It was, therefore, particularly<sup>6</sup> liked by the mystics, who, being preoccupied with their code of self-mortification, meditation, and recollection, could find very little time to express themselves in other forms of verse. A lot of great ideas they could easily express in a Rubai, in a few minutes, and then could

1. *Kulliyat-e-Masnavi* May 1917 p. 9. H. 1111.

بقول شاه گلشن رباعی گوئی حق اوست

2. Ivanow, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 1, No. 513.

3. Etche, *India Office Library Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*. Under No. 1081.

4. 12 towards the end of the Qatr, and 3-2, in the separate collection of Rubais in the *Kulliyat*.

5. Sulaiman Nadvi, *Khayyam* p. 218.

6. Page 14 *supra*.

7. Sulaiman Nadvi, *Khayyam*, pp. 231-46.

8. *Id.*, 220 218-55.

betake themselves to their exercises of ascetic and ethical discipline. Also the soft and delicate metre of the Rubā'i was suited to their calm and serene temperament. In addition to the mystics, Philosophers<sup>1</sup> like Ibn Sina (d. 428/1036-7) and 'Omar Khayyām (d. 515-30/1121-36), too, wrote Rubā'is for stating their deeper thoughts. It was, therefore, but natural that Bedil, as a philosopher-mystic, should pay greater attention to Rubā'i-writing. Consequently we find Bedil's views about Divinity, Creation, Man and other allied topics fully expressed in his Rubā'is, and had I not earlier stated his views about these subjects, while discussing his Ghazals and Maṣnavis, I would have undertaken a detailed discussion of them at this place. I shall, however, make brief references in support of the assertions made here.

We are acquainted<sup>2</sup> with Bedil's views about the descent of the Absolute, but nowhere has he expressed himself more tersely than in this<sup>3</sup> Rubā'i:

بیدل ز بسکه جلوه مشدو شدم  
بی پردہ ز آئینه اطلاق شدم  
پوشیدن حوریشم این زمان ممکن نیست  
عریان شدم آنقدر که فاق شدم

[Inasmuch as, O Bedil, I wanted to display myself,  
I cast off the veil from the mirror of the Absolute,  
It is not possible to cover myself again,  
I have become so naked that I am the Universe.]

It was a mighty thought but Bedil has succeeded in expressing it in the four short lines of the Rubā'i. The conception of the Pure Being, the desire of the Absolute Beauty to express itself, the consequential appearance of the Universe, and the predominant position of Man in the Cosmos, all the great ideas have been expressed here with a strong note of pantheism. Again, Bedil says that God is the Real Being, and that plurality only shows Unity. This idea has been stated, in the following<sup>4</sup> Rubā'i, very brilliantly, using charming imagery:

آن دت نمی که نیست غیرش مشهود  
در هر جردی برنگ گل پیوه نمود  
زان گونه که صد پیوه دهد یک دانه  
وان دانه بهتر پیوه به بینی موجود

1. Weir, I.W., *Omar Khayyām the Poet*, pp. 21-31, 77-80; Salimān Nadvī, *Khayyām*, p. 238.

2. Page 247 *supra*.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī, Rubā'iyāt*, p. 78.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[That hidden Essence, except whom none is manifest,  
Displayed itself in every part like the colour in the rose,  
Just as one seed gives a hundred fruit,  
And in every fruit that seed is present.]

This thought has been continued in the following<sup>1</sup> Rubā'ī with the qualification that not-Being only goes to establish the Real Being:

از نفی خود اثبات تو خرمن کردیم      در رنگ شکسته میرگشتن کردیم  
خاکستر ما چو صبح اگر رخت بداد      آئینه آفتاب روشن کردیم

[By negating ourselves, we garnered your confirmation.  
We had a walk through the garden by losing our colour.  
If our ashes, like the morning, were cast to the winds,  
We only made mirror of the Sun brighter.]

But the transcendence of God also is a favourite subject of Bedil. In the following Rubā'ī<sup>2</sup> the poet says that it is impossible to praise God:

خلق و حمد خدا محال است اینجا  
دعوی بگردد افعال است اینجا  
هر گز به لب زده نده گنجد نورشید  
پیدل تو کجائی چه خیال است اینجا

[It is impossible for the created beings to praise God, \*  
Give up all pretensions. Here only shame is in store.  
The Sun cannot be accommodated within the lips of an  
atom.

Bedil, thou art nought. What art thou about?]

After Monism Bedil's next preoccupation is Man. We have seen how enthusiastic<sup>3</sup> he grows and how exalted he feels when he begins to talk about Man. In his Rubā'īs too this predilection continues. But an original thinker as Bedil is, everytime there is some development of the idea. In a quatrain<sup>4</sup> Bedil tells how after incessant and miraculous efforts, on the part of Nature, Man appears in the world:

مید لطره و موج بحر طوفان گردد      کز دریا گوهری نمایان گردد  
فطرت عمری کند تگ و تاز هوس      تا نقش ادب بشود و نشان گردد

[Numberless drops and waves create a storm,  
So that a gem may be produced from the Ocean,  
Nature ceaselessly makes frantic efforts for ages, and  
Then a miracle takes place and Man is the result.]

Not only the entire Universe is busy in producing Man, but God Himself is in search of him:

1. *Kulīyat-e-Safāri, Rubā'iyat*, p. 78

2. *Ibid.*

3. Pages 233, 256 supra.

4. *Kulīyat-e-Safāri, Rubā'iyat*, p. 34.

اسرار قدم رفت در صید قاش و نهان      تا یافت بچسب آدم از حویث نشان  
عرف کاینجا نقاب تحقیق کشود      طالب الله دید و مصوب نشان  
[The eternal secrets passed through a hundred manifest and  
hidden things and

Then found their vest ge in Man's pocket.

The Gnostic, who opened here the veil of Truth,

Saw God as lover and Man as beloved.]<sup>1</sup>

God's desire to see Himself is fulfilled in Man and thus His search for Him. When a perfect man enjoys this enviable privilege, Bedil expostulates that our respect even for his tomb should be profound :

هر سایه خاری که درین هامون بود  
لیلای کعبه تصور بختون بود  
تعظیم مزار اهل دل سهل مگرد  
این خاک دو روز پیش ازین گردون بود

[Every shadow of a thorn in this wilderness,

Was a lovely corner for the thought of the beloved.

It is not easy to respect properly the tombs of the lovers.

This dust a couple of days before was (elevated like) sky.]<sup>2</sup>

But our knowledge of these mystical and metaphysical doctrines would be incomplete if Bedil the realist also does not express himself. In the following<sup>3</sup> quatrain he teaches us the doctrine of the survival of the fittest :

بیدل بر خلق کسر شان نه نمائی      تا تیر توان شدن کمان نه نمائی  
خاصیت بی معرکه عاجز کشی است      اینجا زنهار ناتوان نه نمائی

[Bedil, no detraction of your dignity before the people.

So long as you can be an arrow, don't be a bow.

It is in the essential nature of this struggle to kill the  
humble.

Beware, lest here you look weak.]

The Rubā'ī reminds us of the following impressive verse of Bedil occurring in his Ghazals :

دربین ره شود پائمال حوادث      چون تپش قدم هر که خوابیده باشد

[On this road would be trodden down by calamities

The person who is asleep like the footprints.]

In these verses the poet maintains that we should be on the guard lest we should be wiped off the surface of the earth due to complacency, or, due to degeneration into servility and subservience, on account of the absence of assertion and the will to march forward.

A large number of quatrains, bearing on these subjects, can be given, but, I think, enough has been said to show that Bedil, in his

1. *Kulliyat-e-Safvār, Ruba'iyat*, p. 86

2. *Ibid.* p. 44

3. *Ibid.* p. 99.

quatrains, stands very high as a thinker and a poet. Among the great quatrains writers, such as Abū Sa'īd Abul Khair and 'Omar Khayyām, he would occupy a respectable place because of his elegant expression, high ideals, and comprehensive philosophy. Abū Sa'īd Abul Khair makes a saint of a Man—indeed a laudable achievement in itself—but he does not go beyond that. It was left for Bedil to enable the saints, by his life-giving philosophy, to be a vital force in the world. 'Omar Khayyām, on the other hand, is a pessimist<sup>2</sup>. He leaves the riddle of the universe unsolved and finds an escape in wine. The sharp intellect of Bedil, however, pierces the hearts of the atoms and soars to the heavens. He has a complete view of the Reality and offers a most positive philosophy to man for the realization of his self, and thus equips him to play a most constructive role in life. If, therefore, out of the huge collection of the quatrains of Bedil, a fair selection is made, with a proportionate regard for the different topics dealt with by him, and an elegant volume is brought out, the world would indeed be richer in literature of everlasting value.

Besides expressing these deeper thoughts, Rubā'is have been employed in connection with every other topic which concerns man. Chronograms on births, deaths, and other occasions, joy or sorrow felt on the arrivals and departures of near and dear ones; congratulation; complaints, barchanalian topics, statements regarding one's faith, facetiae, etc., etc., all are themes for the Rubā'i. When we go through the *Amr-i-Bedil* of Bedil we come across all these topics and thus a flood of light is thrown on the private life of the poet. The constant demands, made by his friends, acquaintances, and other people, for chronograms pestered him very much, and he complains:<sup>3</sup>

بدل انہام تا کجا کاتہ است      کبابی عرصہ بساط حق آراستہ است  
عربست کہ آفت و بیکانہ زمن      غیر ر تاریخ و سجع کم خواستہ است

[Bedil how far his understanding diminished,

The times have arrayed a party of fools.

For long a'! those, who know or do not know me,

Have not asked me except for chronograms.]

Bedil's relations<sup>4</sup> with Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and his family are well known. There are Rubā'is which express Bedil's love for and gratefulness to this family. Moreover, there are many Rubā'is which give

1. In this connection read the masterly account of Abū Sa'īd Abul Khair, given by R.A. Nicholson in his *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*.

2. Welle, T.H., 'Omar Khayyām—the Poet, pp. 23, 24.

3. Sulaimān Nadwi, *Khayyām*, 257.

4. *Kalīlyāt-i-Jafarī*, *Rubā'iyāt*, p. 17.

5. *Kalīlyāt-i-Bedil*, *Rubā'iyāt*, p. 88.

information about the poet's faith. From some quarter he got a 'relics of the Holy Prophet, and he said joyfully :

بدل نازد جهان ایحاد بمن      زان دولت عظمی که نبی داد بمن  
بسی چون دیدم از طراب درش      آثار مباحث فرستاد بمن

[Bedil, the world is proud of me,

On account of the rich treasure which the Prophet has granted to me.

When he saw I was away and could not go round his door—

He sent his blessed relics to me.]

The following two quatrains also may be studied in this connection :

بدل رقم خفی جلی می خواهی      اسرار نبی و رمز ولی می خواهی  
حق آئینه است نور احمد دریا      حق فهم اگر بهم علی می خواهی

[Bedil, you want the hidden and manifest secrets,

You like to know the secret of the Prophet and the mystery of the Friend.

The Creation is the mirror. See there the light of Ahmad

Comprehend the Real Being if you like to know 'Alī.]

آن تخم حقیقت که ثنوت شجر است      پیش جمعی که دین شان معتبر است  
و بکرش ریشه شاخ و برگ ست عمر      عثمان شگوفه مرتضایش ثمر است

[The seed of Reality whose tree is the Prophet,

(According to the people whose faith is creditable)

Has Aḥḥ Bakr as roots, 'Umar as leaves and branches,

'Uṣmān as buds, and Muṭṭazā the fruit.]

Bedil makes references about his versification also. He complains that people do not realise<sup>2</sup> his worth. He states that he does not eulogise anybody, but writes verses for their own sake—for the pleasure<sup>3</sup> of making them ; and if at all in his poems he has praised<sup>4</sup> some persons, it is only on account of his love for them. There is also a quatrain,<sup>5</sup> in the collection, which ought to have silenced the critics :

بدل سودای<sup>6</sup> احتیادم شان نیست      شو قم طرف کمال یا نقصان نیست  
بر پست و بلند شعرم ایراد مگیر      آخر سخن شاذمی و نعمان نیست

[Bedil, It does not behave me to practise religious jurisprudence

My interest is not concerned with perfection or its reverse,

Do not object to the defects in my verses,

After all these are not the sayings of Shāfi'ī<sup>6</sup> or Nu'mān.]

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Rubā'iyāt*, pp 99, 17

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdan, Rubā'iyāt*, p. 50.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 13

6. These are the two celebrated Muslim jurists who died respectively in 804 and 767 A.D.

Finally, it is regrettable that a poet of Bedl's standing should stoop down to the position of face-lacerators. There are nineteen Rubā'is of this nature given at the end of the *Qit'at* in *Kulliyat-e-Safadi*. The language of these Rubā'is is very filthy and the subject-matter is awfully obscene. It appears that to guard his sublimest expressions against the evil eye, Bedl indulged now and then in such like offensive sayings. I too quote only one Rubā'ī of this nature with the same object:

آن بفسام خمره تب و تاب منی      کر اهل تکبر است و اصحاب منی  
یا رب بناس پیرش رسواکن      یعنی ریشش بشوی با آب منی  
[That depraved, proud and egotistical fellow  
Who is one of the haughty and arrogant people.  
May God disgrace him with his attire of old age;  
That is wash his beard with semen.]

The Rubā'ī shows that Bedl was certainly angry with an old man wearing a long grey beard.

As regards the form of Bedl's Rubā'is, the first, second and the fourth lines of each Rubā'ī rhyme with each other, and the rhyme consists of a single letter, or a particular phrase or word repeated as refrain, after the proper rhyming consonant or vowel. There are also quatrains having dotless letters and of 4 letters having dots.

1. *Fahm-e-Safadi, Qit'at*, p. 56-57. The catalogue of the *Arabic Persian Mss. in the Oriental Public Library at Baku*, Vol. III, states under No. 381, that there are 200 verses of this kind. Khushfī too says that the number of such 'new' verses is 2,000. Doctor Rieu says that in the British Museum there exists a manuscript which contains verses in Qasida form, and quotes the following verse with which these satirical fragments begin:

این در در دور حین است وضع متین که دارد  
بد پروت مردی غیر از سرتن که دارد

See Khushfī, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 373, *Revue Supplément of the Catalogue of Persian Mss. in British Museum*, I, 212-2.

I saw three satirical fragments in the *Kulliyat* copied by Ghulam Hassan Kabuli at page folios 10, 9-a. As regards the additional satirical Rubā'is, which have been mentioned later in the Baku catalogue under the above-mentioned manuscript, and whose first line is:

یاران در زندگی زهرچیز رسا

I think, at least some of them are given in the collection of Rubā'iyāt in *Kulliyat-e-Safadi*, because at its page 5 the foregoing line, with the complete Rubā'ī has been given. Similarly, the following satirical Rubā'ī has been given at p. 97 of the collection:

زاهد سخن از صدق و صفا می گوئی      لیکن یکسر ره خفا می پویی  
ای مسخره آخر چه شعور است اینجا      می کوزد کون و دست و رومی شویی

Many more Rubā'īs of this sort can be quoted from this collection.

2. *Kulliyat-e-Safadi, Qit'at*, p. 51.

3. *Ibid. Rubā'iyāt*, p. 51.

4. *Ibid.* pp. 89, 96, 100.



MUKHAMMASĀT (Pentastiches).<sup>1</sup>

It is strange that no Tagkirah-writer paid attention to the Pentastiches of Bedil. In all likelihood it was due to the fact that their object was simply to give short notices about the poet. In the *Bankipur Catalogue of Arabic and Persian Manuscripts*, however, the Pentastiches of Bedil have been mentioned, but it has not been mentioned whether they exist in the Library or not. As it has already<sup>2</sup> been said, Bedil wrote a large number of poems of this kind, but I have been able to see only 33. Their large number shows that Bedil was very fond of writing Mukhammasāt, so much so that the touching elegy,<sup>3</sup> he wrote on the death of his only son, is also a Mukhammas. The language of these poems is very simple and colloquial, and one feels at every step that the thought predominates the expression. In addition, therefore, to their simplicity, fluency, beauty of expression, and force of emotion, their deep thoughts also attract our attention. The poet himself is aware of these things and he says<sup>4</sup> :

چه سحر مشربی اے بیدل از ہدیج نگاری  
قیامت انجمنی یا بہار فہد بخباری  
ہزار رنگ درد بردہ تا گلی بدر آری  
وسر نقل یکہ پیشہ دلی کہ تدار  
بطبع تست حروشی کہ کرہسار ندارد

[What magic is performed, Bedil, by your original verses.

A resurrection is the result of a spring exciting disturbance.

A thousand hues tear open the veil before you produce  
a rose.

Through the tune of the bubbling noise of a cup-like heart,  
which you do not have

There is an uproar in your mind which even the hills do not  
have.]

In writing these poems Bedil does not seem to have followed any poet, but in one Mukhammas,<sup>5</sup> he has inserted this hemistich<sup>7</sup> of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi :

1. A Mukhammas or a pentastich is a poem of several "bands" each having five lines. The fifth line in every "band" sums up the idea.

2. *Bankipur Oriental Library Catalogue of Arabic and Persian Mss.*, under No. 381.

3. Page 170 supra.

4. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Vol. II, Panjab University Library Mss. No. 265, ff. 435b-437-a. This volume has Mukhammasāt between ff. 433-a and 464-a.

5. Ibid., f. 449-a.

6. Ibid., ff. 461-a to 462-b.

7. Ahmad Sirhindi, *Imām-e-Rabbāni, Mastūdhāt*, p. 44.

باری بهیچ خاطر خود شاد می کنم

[In short I please myself with nothing]

This line occurs in the thirty-second Maktūb (letter) of the divine.

Except for only three Makhammasāt, in all the rest Bedil discusses those topics with which we have become familiar in the course of this work. Freshness is introduced only by originality of expression, and from the literary point of view it is a great achievement. For example he speaks<sup>1</sup> about the Primal Being :

آفتابم تا تنها دشت بی رنگ زوال  
سال و سهم موج می زد بی غبار ماه و سال  
نی ز دوران زمانم یاد تغیر خیال  
نی ز گردشهای چرخم انقلاب رنگ حال  
مرکز پرکار خود بودم جهانی داشتم

[My Sun did shine without the fear of decline.

My years and months moved without the dust of months  
and years.

Neither on account of the cycle of time I know the change  
of thoughts,

Nor because of the revolution of the sky my condition al-  
tered.

I was the centre of my compass and had a world for my-  
self.]

Bedil wrote these verses while talking about the origin of Man. Similarly, he reminds Man of his superiority in the universe and urges him to reause his self. The attempt will result in a tedious repetition if quotations are made about all these and other familiar topics, still it may be seen how fresh the topic of the superiority of Man appears in these<sup>2</sup> lines :

گر صبح کشد بال زیاد مژه تست  
و زشام دمد موئی زیاد مژه تست  
هر سو فگنی چشم سواد مژه تست  
رمز دو جهان بست و کشاد مژه تست  
صبحرا دمد از خائنه چو دیوار نه ماند

[If the morning opens its wings, it is in memory of your eye-  
lashes,

And if the evening develops hair, it is again in memory of  
your eyelashes.

Wherever you open your eyes there is the blackness of your  
eyelashes.

The secret of both the worlds is the shutting and opening of  
your eyelashes.

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Vol. II, Panjab University Library Ms. No. 263, f. 360-b.

2. *Ibid.*, f. 450-b.

When there is no more a wall in the house a Sahara is the result ]

Besides this novelty and beauty of expression, these poems have, as already indicated, a remarkable force of emotion. In the following lines<sup>1</sup>, we have been asked, in a most feeling manner, to make an earnest search for the Ultimate Reality which, the poet adds, is not far off:

ای هرزه دماغان سخن یاس سگوئید  
کل مفت تماشااست به بید و بگوئید  
آن گوهر نایاب که سرگشته<sup>2</sup> اوئید  
از پیش نظر دور گرفته است بگوئید  
آخر بخیال آنهمه ششدر نتوان شد

[O nonsensical people, don't talk in a mood of disappointment.

The Rose can be seen gratis. See and smell it.

That Rare Gem, for which you wander about,

Has not gone far from your sight, find it out.

After all you should not be so perplexed.]

In another Mukhammas Bedil has described the feelings which he experienced when he had the vision of the Ultimate Reality. He did not think that he would have the vision, and he was, therefore, very much surprised to see the unexpected thing take place :

هرچند که من طانت دیدار ندارم  
قائم بخیالی و تماشائی بهارم  
آنگند تحیر بفتائی مشرق کلام  
کردی تو بان گذشتن مقصود دو چارم  
ای دیده هزار آئینه قربان نگاهت

[Although I do not possess the power to have the vision, and I am contented with the Thought, and with only a sight of the spring.

I was extremely wonderstuck to see

That you brought me face to face with the garden of my desires.

O my eyes, a thousand mirrors may be sacrificed for your single glance.]

In addition to the feelings of joy and wonder, our Gnostic experience on that occasion a feeling of elation also :

بیدل خبر از عشرت جاوید رساندی  
جامی زدی و نشه<sup>2</sup> بچمشید رساندی  
زیر و بم اقبال به فایده رساندی  
ای ذره سرنواز بخورشید رساندی  
ما این قدر آگه بنودیم زجاست

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Vol. II, Panjab University Library Ms. No. 265, f. 42-2

2. *Ibid.*, fr. 4396-440-a.

[O Bedil, you have brought the news of eternal bliss.

You drank a full cup and thus feel intoxicated like Jamshīd.

The sound of the bass and treble of your fortune has reached  
the ears of the Venus,

O atom, your proud head has touched the Sun.

We did not have so much knowledge about your rank.]

These were examples of emotional felicity. The best example of the expression of the poet's emotional break-down is the pathetic and sad Mukhammas<sup>1</sup> he wrote on the death of his son. It has already been quoted in chapter<sup>2</sup> third and may be seen there.

When we have noted literary points of additional interest in the *Mukhammasāt*, we should review the speculative element in the poems, mainly to find out what fresh grounds have been covered. At several places, during their perusal, one feels that, to make his philosophy perfect and workable, Bedil is accumulating the necessary details and making the much needed qualifications. I would be content with only one example. We know, in describing his mystical philosophy, Bedil has urged people to give up their worldly desires and to adopt Faqr, i.e. poverty of heart. One could say that Bedil wanted men to renounce the world altogether as did the recluses and herein, therefore, was a ground for misunderstanding. Hence, to clarify his views on this point, Bedil has written a Mukhammas<sup>3</sup>, beginning with the line:

نگوئست که بیکار ز اشتغال برآ

[I do not say that you should leave your jobs completely.]

In this poem he has emphasised that gradually one should develop a particular attitude of mind which should attach more and more importance to spiritual life. I quote the stanza which sums up the central idea:

تو جوهری نفس و تابکی تعشق جسم    فردگی مکش از انب تعلق جسم  
بیایست اینهمه چسبان مخواه چارق جسم    چونیست وحشت بیکارت از تعلق جسم  
چو آب کم کم ازین کوزه سفال برآ

[By nature you are an Essence. How long would you love  
the body?

Don't wither, therefore, because of your anxiety to flatter the  
body.

This rustic shoe of a body should not stick to your feet so  
closely.

1. Page 142, supra.

2. Page 142, supra.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Vol. II, Panjab University Library Ms. No. 263, ff. 4346-4356.

If your attachment for the body does not permit you  
discard it forthwith,

Then, like water, trickle slowly out of this earthen pot.]

The gradual process outlined in the next lines shows that the poet was anxious to remove every difficulty which people could feel in practising his philosophy.

There is still another point about the *Makhammat* of Bedil which must be considered. The poet has written two *Shahr Ashob* poems, of the kind, which came in his times. Bedil had seen the golden times of the might, Emperor is *Shah Jahan* and *Aurangzeb*, but when after the short and comparatively not a bad reign of *Shah Alam* (1707-1712 A.D.), the empire passed into the hands of voluptuous and self-indulgent rulers. Bedil witnessed depravity and degeneration of unprecedented character, as he was, therefore, much pained. Most sorrowfully he describes the ways of the society of those days and foretells the downfall of the *Mughals*. In view of the historic significance of the description its summary has been given below. It may be borne in mind that these are not the observations of an ordinary poet, who usually heard complaining against his contemporaries. On the other hand, here we learn well thought out and considerate views of a thinker who as a social philosopher was fully aware of the trend of his times.

The Emperors were popular, merry and luxurious. Their courtiers too were worthless and licentious. Gone were the glorious days when aristocracy consisted of men of integrity. Instead only pampered, senile

1. *Faḥṣ al-Bedil*, Makrif Library, Kabul, Mus. No. 504/9, fs. 1060, 1063.

2. *Jahānshāh Shāh*, the success of *Shāh* 'Alam, had a companion named Lal Kanwar—a mungli by birth. Unrestrained by his nature he was showered with honours and his relatives were elevated to the highest ranks. See my article about him published in the *Tarikh* for September 1951. About the low-born slave was Lal Kanwar and the mischief created by them, Khāfi Khān remarks in *Mushtak*, *Lubab*, Vol. II, at p. 38.

چنان بزر را دو - رود نام تو را و کز دست و پاهاش گره گردید که نزدیک  
بدن کسی فراهم کنی و مفتی بی همه گردد و همه برادران و خویشان دور و نزدیک  
من کور به مصیبت چهار هزاری و پنج هزاری و بعدی قبل و به ره و جواهر پیش به  
مهر واری به بین همه مردم برقرار گردید و اعتبار خانه ران و دیگر ب حسب  
کمالان و علماء زمین برخاست

[The community of the musicians, minstrels, and songsters had such a good market for their songs and music, that it looked as if the Qāṣi Khān would become a drunkard, and the Mafid a rhymer. All the brothers, and near and distant relatives of Lal Kanwar were made prominent among their community, by raising them to the Mansabs of 4,000 and 5,000, and by granting them elephants, drums, and priceless jewels. No more there was any respect for the old, low and faithful courtiers, other accomplished persons, and the 'Ulama.]

vain, and proud people had been promoted to higher ranks. They were base in nature, light in intellect, and corrupt in morals. Their only concern was to amass wealth, and to add to the number of their palatial buildings and their horses and elephants. These self-conceited braggarts were proud of their strength and valour, but in fact they had grown effeminate, and like women busied themselves in make up before the mirrors. They were more quarrelsome than womenfolk, but by their big bellies, large moustaches, angry faces, and proud posture tried to overawe the people. None recognised their authority, still they thought they were potentates. The general public, too, had adopted their ways and men, having greater potency<sup>1</sup> for sexual intercourse, were respected in the society. Unnatural sexuality had become so common that sodomy was practised openly, and women searched "husbands" for their men. As the husbands were henpecked they pimped for their wives. When the society had grown so hollow,<sup>2</sup> in every respect, Bedil prophesied :

گردش احوال نا مردان بسی خواهد درنگ زود برهم می خورد این مجمع آثار ننگ  
تلبیان تاکی بهادر زحلب تا چند شاه

[The change in the condition of the unmanly will occur sooner than later.

Soon will this shameless crowd disperse.

How long can the cuckolds be brave and the pandrous  
to their wives be kings ]

And the Muslims of India know, at their cost, how far this prophecy was correct<sup>3</sup>

### TARKIB BAND

This poem<sup>3</sup> of Bedil consists of thirty stanzas (bands), rhyming turn by turn in different letters<sup>4</sup> in their perfect alphabetical order, and each stanza has twenty one couplets. The first three stanzas are doxological, and praise God as the Self-sufficient Reality, from which everything originated, and of which everything is now enamoured. The fourth stanza has a discussion about the Eternal and the Contingent, and the two succeeding ones are didactic in content, and urge Man to attend more to heart :

1 This looks obscene, but I am simply faithful to the original.

2 Study in this connection *Muraqqa'-e-Dahl* by Dargah Quli Khān who wrote this book only a few years after the death of Bedil. The book has already been quoted (p. 11, supra), and the reference serves the purpose to a great extent.

3 *Kulliyāt-e-Safdar Tarkib Band* (In *Qasaid*), pp 1-11. A Tarkib Band is a poem consisting of many stanzas of equal length. In Bedil's *Tarkib Band* the last hemistiches of all the stanzas rhyme with one another.

4 No bands, however, rhyme in these letters :

پ - چ - ز - ک

بغیر معنی در چیست هیچ چا مفهوم

[Without the meaning of the heart nothing is comprehensible]

The seventh, eighth, and ninth stanzas have been dedicated to the praise of the holy Prophet of Islam, and in the next four, the four Orthodox Caliphs of the Prophet, i.e. Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uṣayyid and 'Alī, have been eulogised. In the fourteenth stanza the poet sums up what he said about the Caliphs in the four preceding stanzas and he gives the central idea in this verse :

یکی سپهر صداقت دوم حقیقت عمل سوم محیط حیا چارم آیه اخلاص

[One is the sphere of truthfulness, the second is the essence of justice,

The third is the ocean of modesty, and the fourth the sign of sincerity.]

The next fifteen stanzas are again didactic, teaching Unity and love, self-renunciation, and self-realisation. The last stanza, i.e. the thirtieth, is a pathetic statement of how all the great men—great intellect, in status, and in spirit, feel helpless when they are at the point of death, and Bedlā, therefore, has urged :

تو دل به بند به شاهن که از کمال کرم  
نخواهد بچنین روز عاجز و مضطر

[You should have attachment for the Almighty who, out of extreme kindness,

Will not like you to be so helpless and distressed on such a day.]

Some of the verses in the *Tarkīb Band* are extremely beautiful, for example :

طراوت لب مشوق اگر نه در نظر است  
زدیدن گهر و لعل آبدار چه حظ

[If the freshness of the lips of the beloved is not in sight,  
No joy can be had by looking at the pearls and rubies.]

بحیب خوش صدف وار گوهری داری  
برنگ موج زویدن بهر کنار چه حظ

[Like the mother of pearl you have a pearl in your bosom,  
There is no fun then in running about, like the wave, to every shore.]

چو جمع گشت دلت حسرت طیش بای  
اگر بدست تو آمد دگر پسنگ مزن

[When your heart is settled, why to have yearning for restlessness,  
The pearl is in your grasp. Don't strike it against the stone]

## TARJĪ' BAND

It is one of the best productions of Bedil, and appears to be written at the highest pitch of inspiration. It embodies all the fundamental principles of the mystical philosophy of the poet, and he commands, in this poem, a force and spontaneity rarely met with elsewhere—in his own works or in the works of other poets. It was written as a replica<sup>2</sup> to a famous Tarjī' Band of 'Irāqī (d. 688/1289) whose refrain<sup>3</sup> is :

که بهوشان دل مبین جز دوست  
هرچه بینی بدان که بطهر اوست

[That with the eyes of heart see nothing except the Beloved.  
Everything that you see should be regarded His manifestation.]

I am quoting here *Khushgū*. He continues : "As 'Irāqī spoke like a mystic, who is still on the Path, he said that everything is a manifestation of God, while a gnostic believes that the objects are the Essence Itself. Bedil, therefore, said :

که بهمان نیست جز تجلی\* دوست  
این من و مان همه اضیاف اوست

[That the world is nothing except the Light of God  
These, I and others, have all a relative existence.]

As this refrain shows, according to Bedil, the universe, as well as everything else that it contains has a relative existence, i.e. these things exist only in name and not in reality :

نیست جز اسم بال پرورش  
فهم کن تشیان عتقا را

[The wings for his flight are nothing except a name.  
Just think of the nest of phoenix.

1. *Kulliyāt-Safdari, Tarjī' Band* (in *Qasaid* pp 11-21. Ivanow talks of a series of Tarjī' Bands by Bedil. See Ivanow, W., *Complete Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the Collection of Asiatic Society of Bengal under No. 843.*

2. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 372.

3. I have not been able to find this Tarjī' Band in the manuscript for published *Kulliyāt* of 'Irāqī. Professor Arberry has edited 'Irāqī's '*Ushshāq Nāma*, but there too, in the life-sketch of the poet, I could find no mention of this Band. Browne also does not speak about it in his *Literary History of Persia*. There is, however, another Tarjī' Band by 'Irāqī, having the metre of Bedil's Band, and it has this refrain :

که همه اوست هرچه هست بقی جان و جانان و دلبر و دل و دین

The first strophe of this Tarjī' Band has been rendered into Eng'ish verse by Browne. See *Kulliyāt-e-'Irāqī*, Panjab University Library Ms. No. 237, ff 33-a36-a. Ibid., Nawakishore Edition, pages 39-44, Browne, E. G. *The Literary of Persia*, III, pp. 129-30; Arberry, A. J. A., *The Song of Lovers* ('*Ushshāq Nāma* ed.).



It is, therefore, God alone that exists and the world as such is nominal and unreal. Whatever reality is ascribed to the world, it is because of its descent from God, and in that sense it is identical with God. But, in spite of this essential identity, it is impossible that after its descent from the Absolute Being, there may be any possibility of its going back to its place of origin. A wave separates itself from the ocean, but then, in spite of its best efforts, it cannot think of becoming ocean again :

روزگار یست از محیط بقا همچو موج او نماند ایم جدا

[Ages have passed since out of the Ocean of Eternity

We separated like the wave.

بتردد محیط نتوان شد موج بیهوده دردد سر دارد

It is impossible to become ocean by exertion,

In vain does the wave trouble itself.]

From Bedil's point of view, then, the world is absolutely different from God, and he therefore does not say, like Ibn-al-'Arabî, that the world is God and that God should not be sought beyond this world. Bedil elaborates this thought further at another place in the poem while addressing man. He says :

ای تراشیده نسبت مظهر دور عینیت نماند بال

[O thou who hath forged the relation of manifestation

Weep as the period of thy identity is no more.

آئینه گر همه حضور شود نه نماید ز شخص جز تشال

[Even if the mirror is all in presence,

It would not show except the image.]

Bedil thus maintains that Man can no longer claim identity with God on the score of being His manifestation and image. This shows that Bedil was not at all a thorough going pantheist as Khushq's remarks, quoted in the beginning, make him out to be. According to Bedil, then, the world may have a relative existence, but, as it is, it is other than God. In my opinion, it is the fundamental difference between Bedil and 'Irâqî, because the latter was a cent per cent همه 'وستی, i.e. pantheist, and followed Ibn-al-'Arabî to the letter.

There is still another difference between 'Irâqî and Bedil, and that again is of fundamental nature. In 'Irâqî's *Tarjî Band*,<sup>3</sup> we find only an exposition of the poet's pantheistic views and nothing more. There is no place in 'Irâqî's philosophy for Man which makes him an envy of the whole creation. 'Irâqî's main concern is monism, but with Bedil Man too occupies a pre-eminent place in the scale of

1. Fârûqî, *Mu'addid's Conception of Tawhid*, pp. 61, 62.

2. Arberry, *The Song of Lovers*, Preface, xvm.

3. I mean the one mentioned at page 245 supra, foot-note 3.

things. The very first strophe of *Bedl's Tarj' Band* is a vigorous encomium of Man. Only the following four verses may be studied.

ماحریفان بزم اسراریم      سست جام شهود دیداریم  
جوش بحر محیط لافوتم      فضا صبح جهان انواریم  
جلوه قربانت حق یکسوت ما      لحریم طرند رنگها داریم  
برق عشقیم شمع من خدایم      ابر شوقیم ناله می داریم

[We are associates of the society of Occult Secrets;  
We are drunk with the wine of blessed vision;  
We are the ebullition of the ocean of Latut (Divinity);  
We are the grace of the morning of the world of light;  
God manifested Himself in our form;  
Undoubtedly we have got strange modes;  
We are the lightning of love and we smile flames;  
We are the cloud of longing and we rain lamentations.]

The whole of the *Tarj' Band* stresses the unique position of Man. It makes discussions about his potentialities, it tells how to bring that potentiality into actuality, and it describes the marvellous powers of Bedl's Idea Man. While comparing Man with other objects, Bedl says that they too may have their origin in the same Reality, but they cannot claim equality with Man.

نبود هم ترازوی یاقوت      سنگ و آهن اگرچه از کان است  
در شبستان عفت آفاق      آدمی قندب تابن است

[They cannot be weighed with the ruby  
Although the stones and iron come from mines.  
In the chamber of the forgetfulness of the Universe,  
Man is the luminous Sun]

Bedl asserts again and again that Man has boundless power and enjoys free will:

گر خداوند است سلطانی      بشکی هم وزارتی دارد

[If Godship is sultanate,  
To be a Man is also a viziership]

گرنگه تو با پیش چو شد      هرچه خواهد دلت همان بشی

[If your look surges out with confidence,  
You would find happening whatever you desire.]

خواه جنت گزینی      خواه مقر که تو در اختیار بختاری

[You may select paradise or hell,  
For you have got freewill]

With his freewill and his prerogative Man controls the destiny of the Universe:

ساز آفاق بعله خاموش است      این قدر شور و زور و دم مانیم  
غیب عرض شهادت است اینجا      هستی ظاهر از علم مانیم

## Life and Works of Bedil

مرنوبت رموز هر دو جهان گر کسی می گزیند  
ابر تحقیق فیض می بارد عالمی سائل و کرم

[The universe, vast as it is, of the Universe is absolutely quiet,  
There are the upsurges of its bass and treble.

The invisible is visible here

Thus is the being appearing out of non-existence.

The writ of the mysteries of both the worlds,

If it is transcribed, it is transcribed by us.

The cloud of inquiry showers bounty,

A world comes a-begging at our doors and we give.]

repetition of the consonant 'm,' in the rhyme and refrain of the verses points out with what emphasis Bedil wanted to express the idea. Man being so sublime and so mighty, it is sorrowful, if after realising his self, he is not proud :

داغم از وقع بی نوازی دل که بخود وای رسید و نواز نه کرد

[I am sorrowful on account of the indifferent disposition of my heart,

I has realised itself and still does not feel elated.]

The exaltedness is thus the natural outcome of self-realisation, and is the ego-sustaining positive feeling on which Iqbal, in his poems, has laid much stress.

The foregoing remarks sum up the main characteristics of the *Band of Bedil* and point out how it is different from *'Irāqī's* *Band*. It is also apparent that Khushfū, being a Hindu and therefore naturally inclined to thoroughgoing pantheism, could not grasp the real significance of this strophic-poem of Bedil. It is also apparent, in the development of mystic thought, Bedil's contribution pointed out emphatically to the path which culminated in Iqbal, as a thinker, Bedil is thus the forerunner of the Poet of the East. Iqbal is called. Finally, all these comparisons and contrasts between the *Tarjū Band of Bedil*, having thirty four stanzas of twenty lines each, excluding the refrain, will stand out as the poet's remarkable production.

### FRAGMENTS

As in the *Qasid* many Qit'at are given in *Kulliyat-e-Bedil* of the Press, Bombay. All of them relate to different episodes of the poet's life, and I have, therefore, already spoken about them while dealing with the biographical portion of this work. This may, however, be stated that the fragments constitute a nice model of sincerity and

[Footnote] *Exposition of Religious thought in Islam*, p. 160. Iqbal says, 'The ego-sustaining deed in respect for the ego is myself as well as my work.'

[Footnote] Abdulla Anwar Beg, *The Poet of the East* p. 1.

[Footnote] *Qit'at-e-Safdar*, Qit'at, pp. 44-59.

spontaneousness and proclaim the liberality of the poet's heart. One of the fragments is about the poet's beloved,<sup>1</sup> and describes how lovely the hands and the feet appeared, when dyed with henna. The fragment is exclusively of artistic value, and, as I have not mentioned it before, I give its opening and concluding verses :

آن رنگ که می داشت در رخ از ورق گل  
از دور کف دست تو بو مید و پها بست

[The colour which kept itself back from the rose,  
Kissed your hands from a distance and stuck to your feet]

بیدل تو هم از شوق چمن شو که به این رنگ  
شیرازه دیوان تو امروز حنا بست

[Bed! you should also blossom like the garden, because with  
this colour,  
The tape of your Dīwān has been dyed.]

### RIDDLES

The *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī* has four riddles<sup>2</sup> also. In the first by the repetition of a word لا اله الا الله (There is no god except Allah) is obtained, and the word is حلال. The second is about the seeds, which grow without being sown, and when they are brought together, they grind like a mill. Those seeds are the teeth. The third is a riddle about the tongue, and the fourth about a mill. The last is quoted below to show the nature of this kind of verse.

شخصی دیدم نه سر عیان لی گردن      اسها برهم نهیده و اما نه دهن  
دندانس هزار ایک اینها بشکم      کارش همه وقت خوردن و نالیدن

1. Sher Khān Lodhī says that this beautiful fragment was written when Mīr Lat'fullah son of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was married and henna was applied to his hands and feet. See, Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mīr'āt al Khayāl*, p. 392.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Qasaid* p. 64.

## CHAPTER VII

### Prose Works

#### 1. CHĀHĀR 'UNŞUR

THIS is the chief prose work of Bedil and, as already stated,<sup>1</sup> it is primarily the poet's autobiography, though it has not been written in the chronological order; and, therefore, for a proper and complete biography of the author, it must be supplemented by other sources. It was Sirājad Dīn 'Alī Khān Ārzū who first of all pointed<sup>2</sup> out that some of the events of Bedil's life have been described by Bedil himself in *Chāhār 'Unşur*. It can, however, serve as a useful source for the poet's life up to 1100 A.H.<sup>3</sup> (A.D. 1688-9), and hence for the events of the later years of his life we must tap other sources. It was begun<sup>4</sup> in 1095 A.H. (1683-4 A.D.), and was completed<sup>5</sup> in 1116 A.H. (1704 A.D.). Thus it took Bedil more than twenty years to finish *Chāhār 'Unşur*. The book has been divided<sup>6</sup> into four chapters or 'Unşurs. In the first 'Unşur Bedil vividly<sup>7</sup> represents the moral character, the religious sentiments, and the literary careers of several distinguished persons, with whom he passed the early period of his life. The second 'Unşur has been devoted to the description of the circumstances in which he wrote some of his verses. The third tells how some of the prose pieces given in this section were produced. And the fourth gives some of the strange and marvellous happenings of his life. While writing the biography of Bedil, I used *Chāhār 'Unşur* as a source off and on, but as the general plan of the book is unknown to my readers, and as some of its material could not be included in the biography, I proceed to discuss the chapters one by one as briefly as possible.

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1. Page 133 supra.

2. Khān Ārzū, *Majma'at-Nafāis*, Ms. Pl. University Library No. 1429 f. 56.

3. Page 133 supra.

4. Page 85 supra.

5. Page 133 supra.

6. *Kulliyāt-i-Safdarī, Chāhār Unşur*, 4.

7. *Bankipur Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, Vol. III, under No 381.

The book begins with a preface, in prose, which expresses that God transcends a description of Him, He is unknowable, and that neither His Essence nor His Attributes are known to us. Then, after praising the holy Prophet and telling why and with what plan the book is being written, Bedil begins the first 'Unsur'. At first he tells about his infancy and childhood, the death of his father, his admission into a Maktab, and his sharp intelligence, which began to manifest itself in the very beginning. Then one by one he speaks about Shaikh Kamāl, Shāh Mādā, Shāh-e-Yakūb Āzād, Shāh-e-Fayl, Mirzā Qalandar, and Shāh-e-Qāsim Havallāh—the eminent persons who are all Bedil's spiritual teachers. Each Farīd Din 'Aḡā, who begins every chapter of Kitāb-e-Tasawwuf Āzād with metaphorical epistles about the new saint to be discussed, Bedil also employs sonorous adjectives in praise of each one of these saints. Having made the beginning in this way Bedil continues the account in a florid style illustrating his points by Maṣnawī, Chazals, fragments, single verses, or Rubā'īs. More often than not statement of a fact leads to some profound conclusion and then Bedil commences, in his characteristic style, discussion of some very abstract problem connected with Metaphysics or mystical philosophy. This shows why Bedil called Chahār 'Unsur as the rose-garden of Mysticism.

About the saints mentioned above, necessary details have already been given in the first and second chapters of this work, and I should not repeat them here, but I would like to state a few more factors about Shāh-e-Qāsim that have been mentioned in this 'Unsur. Sayyid Mahmūd, a descendant of Khwāja Ya'qūb Charkhi,<sup>4</sup> was the Governor of Orissa, when Shāh-e-Qāsim and Bedil were there.<sup>5</sup> The Sayyid was suffering from a grave malady. Mirzā Zāfir, the maternal uncle of Bedil, requested Shāh-e-Qāsim to pray for the Sayyid, and consequently he recovered very soon. Three more miracles (کرامات) were also displayed by the saint. A certain person, named Asad, who was a Shia by faith, talked irreverently about Shāh-e-Qāsim at the time when he prayed for the recovery of Sayyid Mahmūd. Soon after, when Asad was going in his palanquin, it was overturned automatically and he was thrown off into a pool of fish. There was also another Shia Hakīm Ibrāhīm Gauḡ. He was a highly cultured

1. Asad Jān-e-Safdar, Chahār 'Unsur, pp. 1-47.

2. Bedil, Āqā-e-Mahmūd and Taqī, Sarāf-e-Safdar, II, 105.

3. Kulliyāt-e-Safdar, Chahār 'Unsur, p. 4.

4. Khwāja Ya'qūb, a disciple of Khwāja Bihār Dīn Naqqashbandī (d. 791/1389), belonged to Charkh—a suburb of Ghazna. He died in 851/1447, when his fame as a saint had spread far and near. See Shāh-e-Sarwar, Āṣṣanād Āṣṣaf, I, 307.

5. Page 36 supra.

person and an illustrious physician, and Shāh-e-Qāsim was very much pleased with him. One day the saint said that he had prayed to God to make the Hakīm's inner self also as pure as his outer self was, but he did not know why there was so much delay. The same evening Hakīm Tāhīr Gilānī went as usual to the tomb of his father, Hakīm Nūrūd Dīn, to pray for his soul. At first he smelt there something stinking, and then he saw an apparition rising out of the tomb. Tāhīr Gilānī was terribly afraid, and was going back, when he heard "Tāhīr, I am your father Nūrūd Dīn. This is my real self. Learn a lesson from me. My false faith has made me miserable." Told Hakīm Tāhīr Gilānī to renounce Shīism. When this prosel-  
tisation took place Shāh-e-Qāsim recited the following verses of Maulānā Maghribī :

ما جام جهان نمائی ذاتیم      ما هادی عالم میاتیم  
گو مرده بیا که روح بخشیم      گو تشنه بیا که ما فراتیم

[We are the world-showing cup of His Essence.

We are the guides in the realm of His Attributes.

Ask the dead to come so that we might grant life.

Ask the thirsty to arrive as we are the Euphrates.]

The last *karāmat* of Shāh-e-Qāsim is about a rich Tūrānī Big, who was suffering from consumption, but remained hale and hearty so long as he was in Cuttack in keeping with the advice of the saint, but died immediately when he started on his journey for Tūran.

At the end of the *First 'Unsur* Bedil eloquently praises the saint and says :

وصف این طائفه تفسیر کلام الله است

[The praises of these persons constitute the exegesis of the Holy Book.]

And he rebukes those poets pungently who sing praises of the king who love only worldly glory.

In the *Second 'Unsur* Bedil tells how on ten different occasions he composed some particular verses. At first he tells how he composed his maiden's Rubā'ī at the age of ten, and then he describes how he made a versified reply<sup>1</sup> on behalf of Shāh-e-Fāzī when somebody requested him to pay a visit to his home. On that occasion, Bedil says, Shāh-e-Fāzī remarked that Man is the embodiment of all the

1. A thoroughgoing pantheistic poet of Irbil died 809/1406-7. See Brown: *A Literary History of Persia*, XII, 330-344.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Sa'f-darī*, *Chahār 'Unsur*, 47-73.

3. *Ibid.*, 47.

4. *Ibid.*, 48-50.

5. Page 27, *supra*.

secrets of Being and hence deserves all the worldly and divine perfections. On that very occasion a person enquired how the I-anness of Pharaoh differed from that of Mansûr al-Hallâ, Shâh-e-Faiz replied that Mansûr uttered 'I am the Truth' only after complete self-annihilation, when he was perfectly sure about the truth of Unity, but Pharaoh said, 'I am your Lord' the moment he was still wandering about in the forest of plurality, and hence, on being tested, even the drops of the former's blood bore testimony to his truthfulness, while the latter, on finding himself in the midst of the surging waters of the Nile, cried out that he believed that there is no God save Him in Whom the children of Israel believed.<sup>1</sup>

Having described the circumstances, in which Bedî composed the fragment on behalf of Shâh-e-Faiz, Bedî gives an account of a meeting with Shâh Abul Faiz, at the residence of Mirzâ Zarf, when different topics of Metaphysics were discussed, and when, at the end of the meeting Bedî composed a Rihî. The fourth occasion, when Bedî composed verses extempore, was the convivial meeting at the bank of a tank in Rani Sagar. The fifth composition is a verse in which all the letters have dots and which was written in Orissa in the presence of Shâh-e-Qâsim and the poet Wajih of Herat. The sixth<sup>2</sup> are 57 couplets which Bedî added to the preface of the collection of the sayings of saints, made by Bedî in Orissa. Bedî says that Shâh-e-Qâsim sent this collection to another saint, named Shâh Ni'matullah Firâzî, with the remarks that it was the first composition of a novice in mysticism, and Shâh Ni'matullah in return praised Bedî and foretold that he would have a brilliant future. The seventh<sup>3</sup> is a description of how a single couplet by Bedî drove off gnomes from a fort in Multan. Here Bedî expatiates that even the words of a man, spiritually enlightened, have a mysterious force. The eighth<sup>4</sup> is the following couplet:

از هر چه سرائیمت فزونی خود گوئی چه گوئیمت چونی

[Thou art the end what I say about Thee,  
Tell Thyself how art Thou?]

1. Preface to the Holy Qur'ân, xi. 90. It may be noted that the quotation in Q. 1. 'Unsur is incorrect.

2. *Chahâr 'Unsur*, 50-54. Page 31 supra.

3. *Chahâr 'Unsur*, 54-5. Page 32 supra.

4. *Chahâr 'Unsur*, 55-7. Page 39 supra.

5. *Chahâr 'Unsur*, 57-9. Page 38 supra.

6. *Chahâr 'Unsur*, 51-52. Page 51 supra.

7. *Chahâr 'Unsur*, 62-9. Page 41 supra.



Bedil used to sing it in Orissa when his heart was consumed by love for God. It was this verse which introduced Bedil to Shāh-e-Kābulī in Dehli in an occult atmosphere. All the three meetings between Bedil and Shāh-e-Kābulī have already been described in connection with this couplet. The ninth<sup>1</sup> is the couplet told by Bedil to Shāh-e-Qāsim, in a dream, on the subject of modesty, and the tenth<sup>2</sup> is the chronogram about the death of Shāh-e-Qāsim, which Bedil told to the angels in a dream.

Now the third chapter,<sup>3</sup> or 'Unşuı-Seyyom as named by Bedil. It contains six prose pieces of metaphysical, ethical, mystical, and literary value. In the beginning Bedil describes the difference between prose and verse, and maintains that essentially they are identical, with the only difference in quantity - prose being verse in detail, and verse only brief prose. According to Bedil, therefore, prose and verse are similar in nature, and if in Bedil's prose we find embellishments, usually met with in verse, we should not be surprised. After clarifying his views about these literary conceptions, Bedil begins his first<sup>4</sup> prose composition with these words :

نیستی آهنگان محفل اعیان بوی از قانون وجود ته برده اند

[The mortal ones which form the assembly of the essences of things do not have even the faintest tinge of beingness.]

This is the Persian version of the following saying given in the *commentary of Fuṣṣūṭul Hikam* by Kāshānī

لا عیان باشند ر نیحة من الوجود

[The essences have not got the slightest touch of reality about them.]

The occasion for this discussion of a metaphysical problem arose when, in a meeting, people were talking sorrowfully about the dead and Bedil remarked :

هر بعضی که می بینی سر نیست که می شنوی

[Whatever you see is a word that you hear.]

This discussion is hard to understand, and I, therefore, give its summary in as intelligible terms as possible.

1. *Chahār 'Unsur*, 69-71. Page 39 supra.

2. *Ibid.*, 71-2. Page 76 supra.

3. *Ibid.*, 73-100.

4. *Chahār 'Unsur*, 73-78.

5. Kāshānī, *Shāh-e-Fuṣṣūṭul Hikam*, 63, Faruqi, *The Majaddid's Conception of Tawhīd*, 61.

Bedil says that God alone is the Real being and everything else has only relative existence, and creation is simply the manifestation of the Names and Attributes of God, as Man is the manifestation of the Name جامع (The Gatherer of all). When a Name, i.e. a word, the origin of everything, Bedil holds, whatever we see is a word that we hear. Again, the essences of all things are eternally known to God, and His creative word (Kun, 'Be') actualises their existence. The creation depends on knowledge or a mere thought. Bedil, therefore, is of the opinion that on the passing away of a person one should not feel bereaved because he was essentially a thought—devoid of all real existence.

The second<sup>1</sup> is a short composition about liberality and is named *Isā'iya*. Bedil wrote it before he was busy with this *'Unw* and appended it here to praise the liberal and to condemn the mean. Bedil says that the holy Prophet (peace be on him) has been praised<sup>2</sup> for his excellent manners, and, as we learn from a study of his life, the excellence of manners and moral lies in liberality, which means giving always and under all conditions to win over the hearts of the people, conducing to their happiness. Bedil further explains:

کیفیت سخا لبر اکنتی سرشته اند که تا کریم سائل را سخون تصور نماید جوهر  
رویت گذاخته است و تا به دل خود را بیدار احسان گمان برد معنی حیا رنگ پاخته -

[The quality of generosity has been kneaded so delicately that if the generous person thinks the beggar is under obligation to him, the essence of generosity is lost; and if the liberal person is of the opinion that he has done a favour, the meaning of modesty ceases to have significance.]

Liberality has been explained in such a way that it comes to include reason, modesty, and faith also. Bedil speaks disparagingly about the mean and stingy and illustrates his point by two stories, one of a mean trader and the other of a stingy mulla.

The third<sup>3</sup> is a purely literary composition called *Bahār-e-Junūn* (The springtime of Madmen). When Bedil wrote his vernacular song in his *Muḥīṭ-e-Aḥṣān*, those of his friends who were interested in the beauties of prose requested him to write a similar piece in prose too. Although the subject had been thrashed threadbare by his predecessors, yet Bedil consented to describe the charms of spring in prose, which, he again asserts, is verse in detail. Elegance of word,

1. *Chāḥār 'Unw*, 78-83.

2. The Holy Qurān, lxvi. 4.

و نیک لعلی خلق عظیم

[And verily thou art of a grand nature.]

3. *Chāḥār 'Unw*, 85-92.

4. Page 258 *supra*.

freshness of similes and metaphors, colourfulness of imagery, and a pleasant abundance of fanciful conceits have lent this composition a novel charm, a glimpse of which can be had from the following sentence :

نگاه چون طوطی هر قدر به پرواز آید محوسبزه رار است و اندیشه برنگ طوئس  
چندانکه دل برهم زند مقیم گلزار -

[The sight, like the parrot, may fly as far as possible, it will find itself face to face with verdure ; and the imagination may wing its way to any place, it will find itself in the garden.]

At the end of this composition is a *Maṣnavī*, having seventythree verses, in which the enchanting scenery of spring has been described again. The epilogue consists of a statement which reaffirms that Man himself is the spring.

*Hujūm-e-Hairat* (Abundance of Bewilderment) is the fourth<sup>1</sup> piece of prose in the 'Urṣur. It is a short philosophical-cum-mystical composition, and its literary attractiveness has been successfully maintained. It expresses bewilderment, at the irremovable close relationship, existing between all things of Nature and stresses the importance of solitude. The fifth<sup>2</sup> is again a literary production called *Surma-i-Iḥbār* (the collyrium of Honour). As already<sup>3</sup> indicated, this was written by Bedil when he lived in Akbarābād with Kāmgar Khān. It is a composition having *curio a felicitas* and about it Sher Khān Lodhī remarks :

الحق اگر صاحب نظران سرمد<sup>4</sup> سواد این کلمات را در دیده اعتبار کنند رواست  
و اگر به نائید این سرمد<sup>4</sup> اعتباری از بلند یهائی فطرتش<sup>4</sup> گیرند سواست - امروز اگر  
ظهوری در عرصه<sup>4</sup> ظهور می بود خفائی تخلص می یافت به است انصاف عنان ادعائی  
شر نویسی از بجاده سخنوری می تافت -

[In fact if the wise and learned put the collyrium of the ink of these words in their bright eyes, it behoves ; and if by virtue of this collyrium they begin to have respect for his (Bedil's) towering genius, it is right. Had Zuhūrī been alive today he would have adopted *Khalāl* as his pen-name, and, out of justice, he would have abandoned all pretentious claims as a writer of prose.]

1. *Chāḡar 'Urṣur*, 92-94.

2. *Ibid.*, 94-97.

3. Page 74 *supra*.

4. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'at al-Khāyat*, 336.

The sixth<sup>1</sup> and the last piece of prose is about the advantages of silence (برای خاموشی). Although it has mystical import, yet the practical wisdom of Bedil is also there. He asserts emphatically that moderation should be observed while acting upon the maxim of conduct, otherwise life-blood in the veins would be congealed. Also he says that expediency should be the guiding rule in this connection. One must speak when it is necessary, and silence should be observed when exigencies of the situation so require. Bedil has also remarked that the end of the *Third 'Unsur* has been quite suitably dedicated to "silence."

*The Fourth 'Unsur.*<sup>2</sup> In this 'Unsur Bedil describes some strange things observed or experienced by him during his life. The total number of the things of this kind is twelve. Bedil says that these things may be considered supernatural but in fact they are the result of the potentialities found in Nature. Having made this qualification, Bedil proceeds to describe first<sup>3</sup> the wonder of Life. He tells how life starts from the microscopic particles of dust, moving in the "absolute soul" (روح مطلق) which rises in the form of moisture from the dust. He then traces how step by step life appears in minerals, vegetables, and animals, and how finally it perfectly blossoms out in Man. He has explained that it is will which is the cause of the appearance of ear, eye, tongue, hands, nose, and other organs in Man. Bedil is of the opinion that accidents go on combining endlessly to form new substances, and hence the interminable series of creation.

After this Bedil describes, one by one, the hypnotic glances<sup>4</sup> of a blacksmith in Sara-e-Nakdar, the burning<sup>5</sup> looks of a Sādhū in Akbarpura, near Mathura, the mysterious disfigurement<sup>6</sup> of his portrait, when he was ill in 1100 A. H. (1693-9 A. D.), and then its automatic restoration to its former state on his recovery. These incidents are followed by those two which demonstrate Bedil's consummate skill<sup>7</sup> in the matter of charms and amulets—one tells how a dead maid-servant was restored<sup>8</sup> to life, and the other shows how the spirits, which haunted a certain house in Dhill, were driven away<sup>9</sup> by his charms. Then

1. *Chahār 'Unsur*, 97-100.

2. *Ibid.*, 100-135.

3. *Ibid.*, 100-107.

4. *Ibid.*, 108-9.

5. *Ibid.*, 109-110.

6. *Ibid.*, 110-112.

7. *Ibid.*, 112-115.

8. *Ibid.*, 114-116.



Bedil states how once in Dehli, while coming back from a walk through the bazar in the evening, he found himself actually lifted and moving in the air. The eighth incident took place in Akbarābād when Bedil found a gold coin<sup>2</sup> of the days of Akbar, and the ninth in Terhit, near a place called Chānd Chor, when Bedil, with two other persons, named Sarmast Khān and Mubārāz Khān, saw a peri<sup>3</sup>. Bedil then describes two of his journeys in dangerous times, one<sup>4</sup> from Patna to Mehsi in 1070 A.H. (1659-60 A.D.), and the other<sup>5</sup> from Mathura to Dehli in 1096 A.H. (1685 A.D.). The twelfth<sup>6</sup> and the last wonderful happening, described by Bedil, is a unique dream in which he saw and visited in Akbarābād the world of similitudes, and when he also saw the holy Prophet and Hazrat-e-‘Alī. Here Chahār ‘Unsur ends, and Bedil gives two<sup>7</sup> chronogram which tell that the date of finishing the book is 1116 A.H. (1704-5 A.D.).

The book was begun in 1095 A.H., and hence it took Bedil about twentyone years to complete it, but this does not mean that he was working at it at a uniform speed. Towards the end of the *Second ‘Unsur*, when the third meeting with Shāh-e-Kābulī, which took<sup>8</sup> place in 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.), has been described, Bedil remarks<sup>9</sup> :

امروز بیست سال است هست آن مدغم

[Today it is twenty years since I have been intoxicated with that wine.]

From this we deduce that Bedil wrote this sentence in 1100 A.H. (1688-9, A.D.), or the first two chapters of this book were written in a period of five years (1100-1095=5). Again, in the beginning of the *Fourth ‘Unsur*, when Bedil has narrated how a maid-servant was saved<sup>10</sup> miraculously by him when he had settled in Dehli after his marriage<sup>11</sup> in 1079 A.H., he makes the following significant remark<sup>12</sup> :

1. Chahār ‘Unsur, 116-118.

2. Ibid., 118-119.

3. Ibid., 119-124.

4. Ibid., 124-128.

5. Ibid., 128-132.

6. Ibid., 132-135.

7. Ibid., 136. Page 33, *supra*.

8. Page 64 *supra*.

9. Chahār ‘Unsur, 69.

10. Page 61 *supra*.

11. Page 60 *supra*.

12. Chahār ‘Unsur, 114.

ایران تاریخ تا امروز که سی و پنج سال به سوب فریت شمارست آن خاندان  
از متیدان سلسله زندگست

[Since that date to this day that thirtyfive years have elapsed, the maid-servant is still alive.]

This shows that Bedil wrote this sentence not before 1079+35 = 1114 A.H. (1702-3 A.D.). It is, therefore, clear that it took Bedil at least fourteen years to write the *Third 'Unsur*. And when we know that this 'Unsur consists mainly of those prose compositions written on previous occasions, we arrive at the conclusion that during the fourteen years of the twelfth Hijra century Bedil had almost stopped writing his *Chahār 'Unsur*. He finished it in 1116 A.H. (1704-5 A.D.) This is a conclusive proof of the fact that his speed was the fastest while writing the *Fourth 'Unsur*. But when we keep in mind that the book has only 136 pages,<sup>2</sup> we gather that Bedil wrote and compiled it quite leisurely, sometimes leaving it altogether, and again writing a page or so after long intervals. It was perhaps due to the fact that Bedil was, during that time, busy with his *Ma'nā'ī 'Irfān*.

*Chahār 'Unsur* is the chief prose-work of Bedil, and hence it represents his style as a prose-writer. It is, therefore, advisable that a few remarks should be made about the style of the book. While assessing the literary value of his prose, Bedil's critics group themselves into two opposite camps. One group has denounced him vehemently while the other has unqualified praise for him. One of the chief detractors is Shaikh 'Alī Ḥazīn (d. 1180, 1765) who says<sup>3</sup>:

نثر بدیل بنهم نمی آید اگر مراجعت ایران دست دهد برای ریشخند  
بزم احباب ره آوردی بهتر ازین نیست.

[The prose of Bedil is unintelligible. If I go back to Iran, no better gift can be thought of for entertaining the friends.]

Ḥazīn is followed by Muḥammad Ḥussain Āzād (d. 1910 A.D.) who has said<sup>4</sup>:

"The *Chahār 'Unsur* . . . of Bedil is a famous specimen of fanciful conceits. One is surprised to read it. It is full of izāfats,<sup>5</sup> metaphors, involved sentences, and conceits within

1. Page 74, 348 supra. *Surma-t-Tiḥār* was written in Akbarābād when he was living with Kāngar Khān in 1081 A.H., and *Bahār-i-Ṣafā* after the composition of *Munīṭ-e-A'zam* in 1078 A.H. A perusal of the contents of the third relate the same story about the other compositions also.

2. I have in view the *Chahār 'Unsur* of *Kulliyat-e-Ṣafārī*.

3. *Ri'ā'at-e-Bedil*.

4. Muḥammad Ḥussain Āzād, *Ḥigāristān-e-Fārs*, 212.

5. Ibid., *Sakhsnān-e-Fārs*, 53-4.

6. The relation of a noun with the genitive case following it is expressed by a *zafat* and is called *Kasrah-e-Izafat*.

conceits. Moreover, the sentences rhyme with each other and are sonoric. The conceits are so subtle that they escape one's notice, and whatever one comprehends that has no reality. Diction is most elegant but it lacks sense. One is at a loss to understand what has been written and why has it been written. If some history book, or a treatise on Ethics, or a book dealing with some science, or still again some ordinance of the Government is written in this style, what would be the plight of the readers?"

It is apparent Maulānā Ārād is too harsh, and he fails to see any virtue in Bedil's prose. To these traducers Alāf Husain Hālī (d. 1883-1914) has replied:<sup>1</sup>

Due to the evergrowing taste for a natural style, these subtleties may be disliked by the people, but these are simply trends of times which are ever changing. This, therefore, cannot minimise the proud achievements of those masters who invented a new style.

Thus, according to Hālī, the true criterion for judging the value of Bedil's prose, is to see it in the light of the literary trends of his times. This will automatically explain why Bedil's prose was liked by his contemporaries, or by those who see eye to eye with them.

Zuhūrī (d. 1023 1616-7) had evolved a new poetic style in prose in his *Naw Ras*, *Gulzār-e-Ibrāhīm*, and *Khān-e-Khālī*, and this style had become very popular in India. He avoided high-sounding words of Arabic vocabulary and adorned his expression by fresh similes and metaphors, and employed allusions and exaggerations. But he was not satisfied with elegance of expression only. He thought subtle conceits were also indispensable. Thus he used to express subtle thoughts in a most elegant manner, and invariably introduced in his verbal and literary artifices an element of novelty. In addition to this he used to write parallel sonoric sentences, and this parallelism was so perfect that no sentence could be replaced.

Now, as remarked<sup>2</sup> by Khushgū in his *Safina*, if we observe Bedil's prose carefully we come to the conclusion that it is an imitation of Zuhūrī's style, and if we go deeper and make comparisons we find that Bedil's style is an improvement upon the original model. His diction is more elegant and chaste and his aesthetic

1. Hālī, Alāf Husain, *Tadqīq-e-Shāh B.* 174.

2. Qaul Qadr Shāh-e-B, 57.

3. Khushgū, *Safina* Pb. University Library Ms. No. 4540, f. 125-a.

4. Sher Khatun Lodhi, *Maknūn Khayāl*, 390, Wahid Qureshi, *Indica Literature*, Pb. University Library Ms. No. 6835, f. 200.

taste in particular is more highly developed. The following sentences may be studied in this connection :

آموده تر از عکس در قضای آئینه می تو ختمیم و بی نغزش تر از حد در صاحت  
هو خنان می انداختیم \*

پریزادی از ن طلسم بی نقاب گردید چون ضاروب بر قرش سبزه نشسته -

چمن تا رنگ پریده را شکر نمدار رگهای گل دام نه ده و بلبل تا ناله رفته  
را در کنار گیرد - از منقار آغوش کشاده - گردش چشم نرگس نگه رفته را از عدم  
بر می گرداند و پیچش زلف منیل سرورشته نفس گسیخته باز بخود می رساند -

I have deliberately avoided to give translations of these sentences, because a diction so chaste and constructions so graceful and original could not be reproduced in another tongue. It was in view of these peculiarities of Bedil's prose that his contemporaries liked this style very much. His rival<sup>1</sup> Sarkhūsh says<sup>2</sup> :

بیدل نثرهای رنگین می نگارد

[Bedil writes elegant prose.

'Abdul Wahhāb Iftikhār remarks<sup>3</sup> :

ذهن سخن بافتن به انشئه نثر دولت خانه سلطان معنی را آذین می بندد

[His (Bedil's) fertile imagination weaves enchanting webs of conceits in prose.]

And Husain Quli Khān, writing in 1233 A.E. (1817-8 A.D.) has stated<sup>4</sup> :

بیدل طرز جدید و مسلک نو اختیار کرده  
در نظم و نثر بنیت دست قدرت داشته

[Bedil adopted a new style, and had great mastery in writing both verse and prose]

Even a modern critic, Nāz Fatahpuri, praises<sup>5</sup> Bedil for his elegant prose and adds that each and every word used by Bedil should be prized as life. There is still one more peculiarity of Bedil's prose which has not been noted by anyone else. Like Sa'di, he is fond of writing short, pithy and parallel sentences, e.g.

محضرت پر بهانه جویست و کرم سخت التماس خیر

[Forgiveness is very much in search of excuses and liberality is very condescending.]

1. Page 43 supra.

2. Sarkhūsh, *Kalīmūtugh Shīrī*, 14

3. 'Abdul Wahhāb Iftikhār, *Tazkira-e-Benazir*, 39.

4. Husain Quli Khān, *Nazar-e-Ishaq*, I, Pk. University Library Ms. No. 1487, f. 2056.

5. Nāz Fatahpuri, *Makūlāt*, I, 119.



دوئی صورت اعتبار است نه معنی اعتقاد و کثرت غیاور و در است  
نه چراغ خلوت اتحاد

[Otherness is only the form of things, and not the meaning of belief; and plurality is the dust of wilderness and not the lamp of the private apartment of Unity.]

Also, as it is self-evident, he omits verbs in the corresponding sentences. All this shows that Bedil wrote artistic prose, and, as in the case of all other artists, Bedil says in *Chahār 'Unsur* that he underwent severe mental pains to produce his works :

هر نقطه که از جامه ام آید بچکیدن  
اشکیت بپائی بره یتاب دیدن  
گر داغ تو شستم ز کباب چکری بود  
ور که زخم شد زدی دانت دیدن

[Every dot that is made by my pen  
Is a tear anxious to go down the eyelashes.  
If I wrote the word 'Scar' it was of my roasted liver,  
And if a sigh was written it rose from a heart.]

But when everything has been said in favour of Bedil's prose, this should also be admitted that, if it is to suit all occasions and all needs, the language should not be so ornate.

This was about the diction used by Bedil, but so far as the contents are concerned, he stands all alone. Abul Fazl (d. 1011-1602) employed the whole wealth of his high-sounding constructions and the train-loads of his adjectives to uphold the dignity of Emperor Akbar. Similarly, the florid style of Zuhri simply served to gratify the self-esteem of his patron<sup>1</sup> 'Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh. But if Bedil praised anybody in his prose they were saints, whose praise, he believed, was just commentary of the holy Qurān. Moreover, as hinted in *Ma'āyir-e-'Ajam*,<sup>2</sup> Bedil consecrated his skill in writing elegant prose to the exposition of ethical, mystical, and philosophical problems. As it goes to the everlasting credit of Bedil that, in his *Third 'Unsur*, he has given five specimens of pure literary prose. These factors, therefore, mark a distinct advance in the direction of employing prose for better ends and higher aims. In view of these peculiarities of *Chahār 'Unsur*, it should be classed with the *Kilmāyā-e-Sa'ādāt* of al-Chazzālī, the *Taḥṣīratul Aaliya* of 'Attār, the *Gulistan* of Sa'di, and the *Nafahāt* of Jūmī. Its style may differ from that of the books mentioned here, but it belongs certainly to their class.

1. Abdul Ghani, *History of Persian Language and Literature*, 239-243.

2. *Ibid.*, 194

3. Junadi, Muhammad 'Aḡlmal Haq, *Ma'āyir-e-'Ajam*.

## 2. RUQA'I-E-BEDIL

As it is clear from the Appendix B, the total number<sup>1</sup> of Bedil's letters is 273. These were written to thirty-nine different persons. These include 9 letters whose addressees have not been mentioned. Also some of the letters were written by Bedil on behalf of other persons. The largest number of letters was written to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and his sons: 53 to the Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, 49 to his son Mir 'Inayyātullah Shukrullah Khān, 36 to his eldest son Mir Luṭfullah Shukrullah Khān II, and 15 to his youngest son Mir Karīmullah 'Aqil Khān. The last named died young, and hence the number of letters addressed to him is very small, although we know Bedil loved him very much. 'Aqil Khān Rāzī and Qayyūm Khān Firdā'ī, the father and the son, can claim only 10 and 5 letters respectively. The sixth position is enjoyed by Husain Quli Khān, Khān Daurān. These facts show the extent of Bedil's relations with different persons.

In the letters one comes across confusion<sup>2</sup> on account of two Shukrullah Khāns and also two 'Aqil Khāns. But it can be easily removed. Nawāb Shukrullah Khān I and Nawāb 'Aqil Khān Rāzī both died in 1103 A.H. (1696-97 A.D.), and hence all the letters, which mention happenings of the later years, could not be addressed to these gentlemen. Moreover, while addressing these two persons of elevated rank, Bedil is always more respectful. As I have consulted and quoted all the letters every now and then while writing the Life of Bedil, I need not discuss their contents here, but I may add that because of the historical references made by Bedil and the chronograms and dates given by him, and also with the help of additional data available in different Tarkīnās and contemporary chronicles, it is possible to arrange the letters chronologically. A study of this thesis will, I presume to hope, prove very helpful in this connection.

As regards the style of the letters, we have to agree with 'Abdul Ghani, the learned author of the *History of Persian Language and*

1. I have counted the epistles given in the Nasikishore Edition of *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, lithographed in 1292 A.H. The Editions of Hāssā and Ahmadi Presses too are similar.

2. *Ruq'at*, Lucknow Edition, pp. 37, 50, 67, 68, 83, 91.

3. Page 157 *supra*.

4. It is because of this confusion that Khwāja 'Ināyātullah Ashkar, who has written a book about Bedil, says that Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was appointed the governor of Bihār in 1114 A.H. See Khwāja 'Ināyātullah Ashkar, *Bedil*, 14, *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, 46.

5. Page 115 *supra*.

*Literature at the Mughal Court*,<sup>1</sup> that in his *Ruq'at* Bedil has endeavoured to make his meaning obscure rather than clear owing to the overdone rhetoric and floridity. It may also be mentioned that the objections raised so vehemently by Muhammad Husain Azād, and quoted by me while discussing the style of *Chahār 'Unsur*, refer chiefly to *Ruq'at* because Azād has cited a letter of Bedil in support of his contentions. It seems probable that it must have been Bedil's obscure style in his *Ruq'at* which made *Chahār 'Unsur* unpopular. Moreover, there are two letters in the *Ruq'at*, in which all the words used are dotless. This figure may show Bedil's mastery over language, but it looks frivolous according to the modern taste.

Still the good points in the style of the *Ruq'at* should not be overlooked. Every time that Bedil finishes a letter he prays in a different way, which is in keeping with its spirit and general contents. Moreover, there are similes, metaphors and novel conceits. Emotive element is also there. The feeling of helplessness and sadness may be observed in the following :

ما بی مائیکان از عدم چه آورد و بردیم و از هستی چه خواهیم برد تا بوسه  
این و آن غم حاصلی که نداشتیم و نداریم باید خورد -

[What had we poor people brought from nonexistence and what would we take away from the world, that we should feel sorry [for losing what we had not or what we do not have ?]

The philosophical deduction in these sentences has been made simply to console the grieved heart, but the feeling of sadness is so overpowering that philosophy has been suppressed. Another literary peculiarity of the *Ruq'at* is that at times we come across chaste expressions of the kind we frequently find in *Chahār 'Unsur*. The following sentences may be studied. I have not again given their translation.

شمع تا نظرمی کشید چشم بر مهر روشن کرده است و موج تا سر بر می آرد  
باد ز رفتن امراض آورده -

زندگی بسر آمده چون نسیم در گذشتن ناچار است و پیمانده بر شده چون اشک  
در چکیدن بی اختیار -

The letters have many chaste and spontaneous verses also. It was in view of these peculiarities of the letters that at one time people studied them most eagerly.

There are also philosophical statements and literary discussions in the letters, and at one place<sup>2</sup> Bedil says that in writing Persian the idioms and colloquial language used by the people of Persia must always be kept in view, for in India Persian is not a mother tongue. These things, however, should not detain us here.

1. See p. 287, footnote, of the book.

2. *Ruq'at*, Lucknow Edition, 127-8.

## 3 NIKĀI-E-BEDIL

As it is evident from Appendix C, the Nikāi, i.e. the ingenious thoughts of B-31, are his short and pithy sayings selected mostly from Chāshīr 'Umar. Their number as well as their subject-matter varies in different editions lithographed in different presses. The Kulliyāt, brought out by the Sāfīdar Press, Bombay, has 70 Nikāi, and every Nikāi, i.e. a subtle thought, in prose is generally followed by a Kutbī and then either by a Ghazal or a Muḥammaz. The Nawlāshere Edition has 61 Nikāi, and their order, and sometimes even their subject-matter, differs from that of the Nikāi in the Kulliyāt-e-Sāfīdar. In addition to this, every Nikāi in this edition has the relevant *Ish'ārāt-e-Hikmīyāt* printed, exactly in the above-mentioned Kulliyāt, and also it does not contain Muḥammaz. There is yet a third edition of the Nikāi, lithographed in the Aḥṣāll Press, Trichur 75 Nikāi, and, like the Nawlāshere Edition, it has *Ish'ārāt-e-Hikmīyāt* at their proper places after the Nikāi. This difference, in the number, order, and contents of the Nikāi found in different editions, shows that different manuscript copies of the Nikāi exist, but unfortunately I have not been able to see any.

As remarked by Ivanow<sup>1</sup> these subtle thoughts have been written in an exceedingly homely and very obscure style usually adopted by Bedil when he tries to make some philosophical discussion. Besides some met the Nikāi have been made absolutely unintelligible owing to the mistakes made by the calligraphists. For example in Nikāi No. 63, in *Kulliyāt-e-Sāfīdar*, the words کبریت, عبرت and کبریت have been written for کبریت, عبرت and کبریت. This shows that the calligraphist was ignorant of the philosophical terms used by Bedil. It is, therefore, advisable that the Nikāi should be studied with reference to the context, and this has been made easier by Appendix C.

The Nikāi themselves may not be so tasteless, so far as their wording is concerned; but the Kutbī, the Ghazal, the Muḥammaz, and the *Ish'ārāt-e-Hikmīyāt* they contain, are some of the finest specimens of his art. Almost every Nikāi has a Ghazal بحر طویل and we know<sup>2</sup> how melodious, how fine, how juicy Ghazals of this type are. On account of these sweet verses the Nikāi have become very interesting, and we feel encouraged that after the short prose

1. It is because of this that I have given them under *Maṣnavi*.

2. Ivanow, *Complete Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, under No. 384.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Sāfīdar*, Nikāi, 20.

4. Page 24 sup a. Even Mir Asad Husayn Asad, who talked highly of Bedil's prose, passes the metres in the Nikāi, uncorrected. (See Asad, *Saghat-e-Saghar*, 262.)

line or passage of a *Nakta* we would have the finest blossom of the highest Art."

All the ingenious thoughts and pointed allusions refer to religious, moral, and philosophical subjects discussed by the author again and again in his works. In an elaborate discussion of Bedil's thought, these *Nakats* have their place, but when I have already made him about Bedil's speculations while discussing his other works, I should speak here only about those *Nakats* whose basic thought has so far received scant attention. Although only brief remarks would be made, yet it would be possible to form an idea about the contents of the *Nakats*. I may, however, add, that if a detailed exposition of the *Nakats* is made, it would be found that they comprehend the whole of Bedil's Philosophy.

The first *Nakta* speaks about *Ilhwa*, i.e. the ideas that occur to the heart, and thus it opens the discussion usually made by Muslim thinkers about inspiration, may it be of the saints or that of the prophets. Bedil says that inspiration of the saints and of the prophets is identical in nature, and there is no reason why we should believe in one and disbelieve the other. In a letter<sup>1</sup> to Qâzi 'Abdur Rahim,<sup>2</sup> father of the saint Wâli Ullah of Dehli, Bedil says that the ideas that come to the hearts of the saints are inspiration direct from God. The ideas of this nature the Sûfis say,<sup>3</sup> are of four kinds: the divine, the angelic, the sensual, and the devils, but Bedil talks only about the first kind. Having once begun the topic, he reverts to it again and again in the *Nakats*. He says<sup>4</sup> that the prophets on receiving such an experience compare and contrast it with the conditions prevailing in the world, and if the experience is of unquestionable utility for mankind, they translate it into action. This is not, however, the case with other people. They act at the first impulse, without weighing the pros and cons of the *Ilhwa* of their hearts, however defective or full of dangerous implications they may be. Further,<sup>5</sup> Bedil compares the knowledge attained by the spiritual organ, i.e. Mind, with that got by sense-perception. He says that even the iota of knowledge gained in this way is invaluable, while volumes of learning garnered or craved will certainly go to wrack and ruin. In addition to this, he asserts, by acquiring knowledge through intuitive experience of this kind, we would be saved from the ignorance of aping others, and would thus store our

1. *Regist. Lucknow Edition*, 112.

2. Page 150 *supra*.

3. Tadhwi, Muhammad 'A., *Kashf-e-Mahabbat*, I, 112.

4. *Kashf-e-Mahabbat*, *Nakats* No. 13, p. 6.

5. *Ibid.*, *Nakats* No. 33, p. 15.

6. *Ibid.*, *Nakats* No. 8, 12, pp. 4, 8.

man's with something absolutely original. Bedil, therefore, suggests that we should constantly take resort to seclusion for contemplation and studying the heart i.e. Mind. At another place in the *Nakāt* he says that this regard for the heart means self-study and ruminations about Reality. He warns that, while doing so, day-dreaming should be avoided, and Reality should be invariably kept in view. He also adds that if a man continued contemplation in this way, one day he arrives at the Truth and becomes one with it. At that time duality disappears and Unity is established.<sup>1</sup> But although every heart has latent capacity for getting this unitive experience, it must be purified<sup>2</sup> by self-mortification, and then alone its innate powers would be actualised. Only after purification the heart would be able to receive inspiration in its purest form. But here Bedil again warns that self-mortification should not be carried beyond the proper limits, for the prophets, who left a model for all, had recourse to it only so far as it was necessary for the purification of the soul. He also maintains<sup>3</sup> that for an even growth of personality cogitation and spiritual development should accompany cultivation of physical powers.

This is a brief account of some of the topics connected with *Khajūr*. As we have no space to talk about other subjects discussed in *Nakāt* we should take up the next prose-work of Bedil.

#### 4. *BIĀZ-E-BEDIL*

It is a Persian anthology compiled by Mīrzā Bedil. Only two copies of this anthology are extant in the world and those too in the British Museum, London. Dr. Rieu has given a brief description<sup>4</sup> of the contents of the *Biāz* in the *British Museum Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, and the following account has been taken from there.

The anthology contains choice poems by a vast number of poets from the age of *Khajūr* to the author's time, classed according to the various styles of poetical composition, and arranged, in each class, in alphabetical order, according to the rhymes. Poems written by different authors in the same measure and with the same rhyme are grouped together. The names of the poets are given in verified headings like the following:

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safidari, Nakāt, Nakta No. 38, p. 17.*

2. *Ibid., Nakta No. 7, p. 4.*

3. *Ibid., Nakta No. 40, p. 17.*

4. *Ibid., Nakta No. 32, p. 14.*

5. *Ibid., Nakta No. 6, p. 3.*

6. *Ibid., Nakta No. 4, p. 2.*

7. *Rieu, Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the British Museum, ff. 737a-738b.*

بادشاہ سرور معنی اسیر and معراج سخن کلام قدسی

The two uniform volumes of the *Biāz* have 429 and 453 folios which have been written in fair *Shikasta āmiz* and dated Lahore, Zulqā'da A.H. 1152 and Muharram A.H. 1153 (A.D. 1740). In the beginning there are Qaṣīdahs, Ghazals, Mu'ammās or riddles, Rubā'īs, Mustazad, and short pieces in Maṣnavī rhyme. There are longer Maṣnavīs by the following poets :

1. Salīm, Muhammad Qulī, a native of Tehran.
2. Aṣhrāf, Muhammad Sa'īd, of Māzandran, instructor of Zibun Nūa, and a favourite of Bahādur Shāh.
3. Mīr Yahyā a native of Kashan, who came to India, wrote a *Shāhnāma* for Shāh Jahān and puns in praise of Dārā Shikoh, died A.H. 1074.
4. Hakīm Ruknā.
5. Tālib Amull.

These Maṣnavīs are followed by *Mukhammasāt*, and Maṣnavīs descriptive of female beauty by Mīrzā Bedil and Maṣnavīs on moral subject by the same. Then there are letters and other compositions in prose by Bedil and other writers, *Musaḥhasāt*, Riddles in prose, and versified chronograms relating chiefly to the death of poets and brought down to A.H. 1121. After this there is a tale of a simple-minded Brahman and the wiles of his artful wife in prose.

The margins contain, besides some additional short poems, the following pieces :

1. زادالعارفین—a tract in six bābs, ascribed to the celebrated staff, Khwājā 'Abdallāh Anṣārī.
2. عهد' لاحد وحدت—Ingerious observations by لطائف.
3. نصائح و مواظب—'Counsel's and exhortations' by Naḥṣiyyatī.
4. معراج خیال—an erotic poem by Tajallī, Mullā 'Alī Razā, a native of Ardakan, province of Yazd, stayed sometime in India, during the reign of Shāh Jahān, and the later part of his life under Shāh 'Abbās II and Sulaimān, in his native land, where he died in A.H. 1038.
5. مساحتہ کوکب و تباکو—a contest between poppy and tobacco—a Maṣnavī by Mujrim.
6. Letter of Nīmat Khān 'Alī to Irādat Khān Wāḥid.
7. ذلیات بزرگان—anecdotes of the great.
8. Extracts from رسالہ جشن حسن و عشق by the same Nīmat Khān.
9. گشن راز—a *Tarjī'* by 'Urfī and other poems of the same kind.

As it is apparent from the above description it is a very important *Biāz*, particularly for the information that it gives about the

contemporary poets of the author, and, therefore, every library in the East must possess its copy. As I have made remarks about its contents here and there in this work, I need not make further comments.

### 3. Prefaces

Some of Bedil's works have prefaces in prose and it is, therefore, desirable to make brief references to them.

I. *Muht-s-A<sup>1</sup>zam's Preface.* After the usual doxologies Bedil says that the poem is not like the *Sāqīnāma* of Zuhūrī, but it is a "Tavern for disclosing Truths." He also says that the poets<sup>2</sup> like Hūlāī, Zulālī, Sālik, Ṭāib, Šāmit and *Shardā* cannot apprehend its contents, and only those who possess ripe judgment like Salīm and Šāib would be able to form an estimate of its value.

II. *That of the Old Diwān*<sup>3</sup>: It has also been mentioned<sup>4</sup> in the catalogues of the Persian Manuscripts in the India Office and Bankipur Libraries. It is a very eloquent preface and shows the author's diction and thought at their best. The following verse gives an inkling of the acute pains suffered by the author, to produce something really remarkable, while praising God:

کل از گلزار حمد او کسی چید که چون زخم از آب خون بسته نالید

[Only that person can pick flowers from the garden of His praise

Who wept like the wound with blood-stained lips.]

Similarly, his eulogy of the holy Prophet, both in prose and verse, wins the reader's approval. The following two verses may be studied:

نام او بردند اسمای قدم آمد بحرف از آب اودم زدند آیات قرآن ریختند  
ار جمالش صورت عالم ازل شدند نقش و زکمائش معنی تحقیق السان ریختند

[When his name was mentioned the eternal names reached the tip of the tongue.

A talk was made about his lips and verses of the holy Qurān were produced.

By his beauty the painting of the knowledge of eternity was prepared.

And by his accomplishments the meaning of Man's Truth was made known ]

The author says that the contents of the *Diwān* are mostly the result of his early attempts at verse-making, and naturally in some cases, there must be some flabbiness of language, but he has included all

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdari, Muht-s-A<sup>1</sup>zam*, 2-3.

2. For these poets see pages 46-7 *supra*.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdari*, the first three pages.

4. Under No. 1676, Vol. I and No. 38., Vol. III, respectively.



such verses because everyone knows "the clear sweet waters are not the rough turbulent waves."

III. *That of the Ruq'at.*<sup>1</sup> All the different editions of the *Ruq'at* contain the preface, but the *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī* gives much additional material. At first there is a preface to an unknown book. It appears it was some treatise about mysticism, and most probably it was the collection of the sayings of mystics, prepared by Bedil at the suggestion of *Shāh-e-Qāsim*. After this a few sentences have been given to preserve the memory of a Maktab, named *مزبزیه زاریه*, established near the tomb of Bedil's teacher, 'Abdul 'Aziz 'Izzat, in 1092, and the chronogram is *بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم*. The third is a preface to a treatise about Geomancy, compiled by Bedil, when he found that all the valuable extant books, about this science, had been spoiled by the mistakes, in calligraphy, made by the calligraphists. The fourth is the preface to the *Ruq'at*, proper and has nothing mentionable.

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1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Ruq'at*, 2-4.

## CHAPTER VIII

### Bedil's Personality and Poetic Genius

BEDIL was born in Patna towards the half of the seventeenth century of the Christian era, when Shāh Jahān, the owner of the Peacock Throne, was ruling in India. Those were glorious prosperous times, with perfect peace in the land. Trade and industry thrived, and various arts developed, independently as well as under court patronage. It was also a flowering period for science and literature and in the chronicles of the times we come across several distinguished men of learning and various gifted writers and poets. Moreover, the place, where the talented child was born, had not only the traditions of being in the vicinity of Nalanda, the famous seat of Buddhist learning during the Middle Ages, but also it was in the neighbourhood of Jaunpur, at one time the capital of the Sharqi Kings, and in the days of Shāh Jahān known solely for being a great educational centre where different sciences of the Muslims flourished. In view of all this Patna had come to enjoy those blessings of economic prosperity and cultural development which the times could bestow.<sup>1</sup> Thus the environments in which Bedil found himself at his birth were such that, with his expanding energies, he could grow loftiness of mind and sharpness of intellect.

Bedil traced his descent from the Mughal race and his ancestors were soldiers. His uncle, Mirzā Qalandar (under whose care he was brought up after the death of his parents), was known for his prowess and skill in military tactics; and, of course, Bedil too began to take interest in physical culture from his very childhood. When, on account of the illness of Shāh Jahān, the war of succession broke out in 1657 A.D., the wily child, who was yet at the beginning of his teens, went away with the armies of Prince Shujāʾ and saw the action. After this, all through his life, this descendant of the brave hardy Mughals was taking exercise regularly to maintain robust health. He

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1. For the purposes of this paragraph chapter I of the work may be studied anew.

had a race with a horse at Patna and won it. He used to wrestle with a stick and he kept for the purpose. And, once, when in the service of Prince Azam Shah, he killed a lion single-handed. In this respect he does not stand as the unique figure in his age. There are many other persons of his time who are known for their bravery and feats of valour. Aurangzeb himself, in whose prolonged reign Bedil passed about fifty years of his life, was a most valiant person. He conducted the siege of eight forts in person in his extreme old age and put his generals to wonder. It was also this age which produced brave generals like Zulfiqar Khan, the conqueror of Junn, and Husain 'Ali Khan, the Barha Sayyid. Our poet's physical strength and his courage, the heroic spirit in which he was of a similar nature found among his contemporaries.

But, in spite of his physical fitness, Bedil did not take up the calling of his ancestors. He was a soldier for a very brief period and then tendered his resignation to lead the life of a dervish. In doing so he was prompted by the example of his father, Mirza 'Abdul Karim, who renounced the world at a very early age and lived the life of a mystic. Bedil's uncle, Mirza Qalandar, too was a mystic. Thus from his childhood Bedil found that the atmosphere around him was charged with mysticism. These influences were further strengthened when the sensitive boy came in contact with the pious, loving and earnest mystics living in Bihar in those days. In this way Bedil developed an emotional attachment for the Real Being, and the roots of that sentiment went deep down into his soul, which had to direct his energies throughout his life. This sentiment of love for the Absolute Reality was also reinforced by the happenings of the four successive bloody wars, which were fought during his life for the Peacock Throne, and which wars did not spare even the Emperors, the Princes, and the Chief Ministers. Bedil's early contact with learned mystics gave also a philosophic basis to his mystical tendencies and he was introduced to Metaphysics. To this knowledge he made addition by his study of al-Qazzālī, Isma'il 'Arabi, Rumi, and al-Mawwida. Thus his mysticism went on growing in extent and depth with his advancing years.

Bedil's racial characteristics had made his personality dynamic, and, although he had adopted mysticism as his creed, which in many cases leads to a stationary life, he used to roam about freely in the Indo-Cargetic plain. While in Bihar he kept marching for some time with the armies of Shahjahan; and, with his uncle, he went to Rani

1. N. J. Sarkar, *A Short History of Aurangzeb*, p. 319.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 317.

Sāgar, Ārā, Meh-i, Cutak and Kesari. When he had left the provinces of Bihar and Orissa he kept moving for full twenty years between Dehli, Akbarābād, and Mathura, and even paid a visit to the Panjab and reached as far as Hasan Abdāl near Attock. When he had finally settled in Dehli, after 1005 A.H. (1685 A.D.), he went to Bairāt, although the Jats were rioting there and journeys were absolutely unsafe. And his last journey was again to the Panjab when he was about seventy-seven years old. He had to go there to seek refuge with Nawāb Ābd al-Samād Khān, against the Sayyid Brothers who wanted his life. On account of his constant travels, therefore, he came to have personal experience of all situations. He came across people of all shades of opinion following different trades and professions, and had intimate conversation with them. He met high and low, rich and poor, Hindus and Muslims, and developed sincere relations with them. He experienced hardships of war and tasted the fruits of peace. He saw landscapes of all varieties and stored his mind with all that those scenes stood for. In this way Bedil came to possess extraordinarily rich experience of all kinds.

The impression made by the personality of this middle-sized, broad-shouldered Mughal, with a handsome face, was unique. When at the age of twenty-one years he left Bihar and came to Dehli, he was quite unknown and absolutely friendless. But before he was twenty-six years old he had found access to the upper ranks of the society in the Metropolis, and was honoured and respected. Āqī Khān Rāzi and Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, two peers of Aurangzīb, held the young mystic in high esteem, and so long as they were alive their reverential regards for him went on multiplying. Before Bedil had joined the Army and he held any manṣab, Izad Bakht Rāzī, a contemporary poet, met him, and he expressed the effect made by Bedil's personality in this way :

بیدل همه دل را دیدم

[I saw Bedil who is all heart.]

This shows that Bedil's profound love for God, the deep emotions with which he spoke, and the thoughtful expression he employed influenced all who came in contact with him.

The effect of his personality was heightened by his character. High thinking, of an independent nature, with wide sympathies, he lived a simple life. He prized purity of morals above anything else, and when on one occasion he found that the son of a barber, whom he loved, had taken to things unseemly, he slapped the boy angrily.

1. *Khushgū*, in *Me'ārī*, for May 1942, p. 363.

and he died at the spot. Except for the one occasion when he took part in a *corviva*<sup>1</sup> meeting in Rani Sagar, when he was in his teens, everything on record<sup>2</sup> proves that he was a perfect teetotaller, and we cannot imagine that a person who lived up to his ideals could show self-indulgence of any kind. Riches, *manṣabs*, *jāgirs*, and a life of pomp and glory were not relished by him. On the other hand, he loved the life of a *darwish*—a humble mystic devoted to God, and hence a poor man was as near to his heart as a member of the nobility. He did not feel elated when the Mughal and the chief ministers showered their regards on him; and he did not think he was humbled when he associated with the low. He had a warm corner for all, a kind word for every one, and benevolent smiles for all and sundry. It was because of his noble character and personal magnetism that his house, in Delhi, was the common resort of high and low, rich and poor, elite and humble. He stood for justice and whenever some trying situation arose he sided with the oppressed. This shows that he was a first-class humanist, and in this respect he stands all alone in his age.

He had no prejudices and was magnanimous and generous. He had many *Hindus* as his pupils and held them very dear. They too reciprocated his feelings, and Bind Rān Dās *Khushgū* and Anand Rām *Mokhlis*, in particular, speak about him most respectfully. As regards his generosity, once a trader from Kabul brought pomegranates and almost all of them were spoiled. He brought the few, that did not rot, to Bedil and related his sad tale. At once Bedil wrote the following couplet to Nawāb Luṭfullah Khān, the eldest son of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān :

بخیه کفتم اگر دندان نما شد عیب نیست  
خنده دارد چرخ هم بر هر زه گردبهای من

[It matters little if the stitches of my shoes have opened out.

Even the Heaven mocks at my wandering about in this way.] The Nawāb thought that Bedil's shoes had worn away and he wanted money. It was a golden opportunity to render a bit of service to the grand *darwish*, and the Nawāb, therefore, sent Rs. 100,000, which Bedil gave immediately to the trader.<sup>3</sup> On another occasion when Mir Karamullah Khān needed money, Bedil sent him 200 gold<sup>4</sup> coins which Nawāb Zulfiqār Khān had presented to him.

1. Page 32 *supra*.

2. *Khushgū* says that Bedil used *Haythib*, but the evidence is too meagre. See page 131 *supra*.

3. *Ārāḍ*, Muhammad Ḥusain, *Nigâristan-e-Fāris*, p. 180.

4. Page 137 *supra*.

As head of the family he was kind and a fast healer. When his son 'Abdul Khaliq was born he was overjoyed, and sent out various chromograms for the happy occasion. He communicated the good news to Nawab Lutfullah Khan, who was then away in the Deccan fighting against Kilm Bakhat. And when unfortunately the boy died, he expressed his bitter grief in a most pathetic elegy. His dealings with his relatives were also full of affection. How anxiously he waited for letters from his cousin Mirza 'Ibad Khan, and how pleased he felt whenever there was any prospect of meeting him! Bedil was on very intimate terms with his friends too. All of us know his attachment to Nawab Shikrullah Khan and his family was most sincere. Even the children of the family were impressed by Bedil's affability and played with his pen and paper even though he was writing. When they were away with their parents, he expressed his love for them in letters with a throbbing heart.

But a person who loved so passionately also hated vehemently whenever there was something unpleasant. A courageous man as Bedil was, he expressed his dislikes quite fearlessly. But these feelings of contempt were never based on malice or selfish motives. As a high-minded person he disliked only those persons who were led away from the path of justice, reason or virtue. This shows that his feelings of hatred only guarded his comprehensive sentiment of purity. His negation of unworthy practices was only an affirmation of worthy ideals.

From his very childhood our poet was given to contemplation. His uncle, Mirza Qalandar, asked him to leave the Miltan and to study Persian works of master writers at home. This was the first step towards developing a contemplative mood in the boy. Then he came in contact with mystics who always advised him to look towards his inner self which is the source of all intuitive experience. In Delhi he gained the friendship of Nawab Mirza Fāzīl and Nawab Shikrullah Khan, who were both mystics, and thus Bedil's tendency for looking into the "inner ear" was all the more strengthened. Khushu has said that Bedil remained indoors throughout the day, contemplating and writing his thoughts in verse.

Bedil had his lighter moments also. He was fond of music and at times he enjoyed the sweet tones of the magical instrument. There is a letter in which he has asked his friend one Mirza Fāzīl to send a Persian violin. Also in his meetings in the evening he passed some time in a humorous mood. Azar, whenever his pupil 'Adl came to

1. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Nawakshore Edition, 121.

2. *Ibid.*, 90.

see him, he used to recite his facetious verses, and felt very much pleased. This goes to prove that, in spite of his high ideas and noble living, Bedil too, like us, needed "salt" to make his life tasteless.

A few brief remarks have been made above about the personality of Bedil. Now we should discuss his poetic genius. I may say at the outset that, in this connection, we are guided to a great extent by Bedil himself, for he is in the habit of making him's about his diction, creative experience, and creative process, etc. The basic fact about the relation that subsists between the poet and his verse has been admirably stated by him in this hemistich :

کرہ کشی سخن برد بدیل

[Bedil, the verse unveils the poet.]

According to Bedil, therefore, the personality of a poet is reflected in his poetical compositions. Now if we want to understand Bedil we must study his works minutely. It will not be possible, however, to do full justice to this most important side of our studies at present, still some observations are made to point out the fundamental things in this connection.

At the age of ten Bedil composed a quatrain about the fragrance breathed by a class-fellow. It was a chance utterance, but this revealed to him that he had innate capacities for versification. He had discovered a great fact, and he began to repeat deliberately the triumph he had attained in the beginning quite accidentally. Even the verses he composed in those days were not of a mean order. It means he was one of those rare individuals who have exceptional sensibility and expressive skill. The mystics, under whose influence he lived in his childhood in Bihar and Orissa, gave him not only the sentiment for mysticism, which was the source of his inspiration, but also improved his expressive skill. We know the highest point in the development of this sentiment was reached, when in Delhi, in 1076 A.H. (1665-6 A.D.) Bedil met Shāh-e Kabūl, who repeated, while awake, the verse which Bedil had heard in a dream in Orissa, when his love for the Ultimate Reality had grown overpowering. Thenceforward Bedil was fully confident about the attitude he had adopted in life and this confidence contributed to the power in his expression.

But still, these things were not enough to make Bedil a great poet—a poet who transcends all ages. He was yet in need of some inner urge to speak, without which every composition is lifeless. Bedil wrote his first *Masnavi*, i.e. *Mahit-A'zam* in 1078 A.H. (1667-8 A.D.). If we go through this poem, we find that the innermost springs of the poet's life have been perturbed and consequently his

fection is full of vitality and power. The key to this state of Bedl's feelings is the question posed by him in the following poem :

اگر عالم این است آدم کجاست اگر هست آدم بهانه کجاست

[If this is the world, where is Man ?

If Man is in the world, where is He ?]

One concludes from this verse that the young mystic was painfully disgusted with the conditions prevailing around him. He liked to see the Man of his ideals, but he was nowhere to be seen. Bedl had been in Delhi, the capital of the Mughal Emperor, for about three years, and he had sorrowfully observed that the society in the metropolis had degenerated miserably. There was before him only the prospect of decadence. He was dissatisfied with the contemporary poets, because there was no reality or nobility in their feelings, and they rejoiced only in employing conventional diction. He was displeased with the religious people because they were not sincere to their faith. And he was disturbed to see that aristocracy, the ruling clique, was cruel and unjust. He said in the poem :

ز دوران گیتی دلم ساده نیست ز عدلش دنان عبرتی داده نیست

[My heart is not free from the vestiges of Time,

And there are no reins to guide it to the path of justice.]

به نیرنگ عدلش نظرها پر آب زیداد ظلمش جگرها کباب

[Through the artfulness of its justice the eyes are wet, and

On account of its oppressive cruelty souls are burning]

He was disillusioned. As he was a new-comer in the metropolis, its conditions had offered him a striking contrast. It was this prospect of universal frustration that goaded him to try to reconstruct his society. Consequently, all through his life he was trying most ardently to give a comprehensive philosophy of life to his contemporaries.

Bedl had in this way got a theme for his poetical compositions, and in the development of this theme his early apprenticeship as a mystic and the disappointing ways of his contemporaries had both an equal share. The one accumulated the powder and the other ignited it. He thought as if he had been commissioned to restore Man to his pristine glory of thought and conduct. He, therefore, devoted the whole courage of his convictions, the whole power of his expression, and all the wealth of his metaphysical knowledge to persuade Man to fulfil his destiny in the world. He had to call Man back to God. He had to tell him that, after God, he was the only being who counted in the whole of the universe. He advanced all sorts of arguments. He quoted verses from the Holy Quran and the

1. See particularly the preface of *Al-Hayat*.



sayings of the holy Prophet. He cited the views of various thinkers—Muslims as well as non-Muslims. And he appealed to commonsense. It was indeed a gigantic enterprise. The theme which he had adopted was no doubt the noblest a poet could dream of. His early training as a mystic had taught him to look more and more to intuitive experience, and, therefore, when he was called upon to address mankind he addressed out of the fulness of his heart. This shows how our poet expressed the noblest of themes in the sublimest diction.

A high theme is worthy of high language. But language of this sort is not given readymade to the poet. He invents it. No doubt, in language and style he is indebted to his predecessors, yet as his personality and his thoughts are quite distinct, he evolves quite a different diction. In a state of inspiration, when the poet is going through creative experience, he feels that the former associations and combinations of words do not suit the shades of meaning or the modes of feeling he wants to express. He, therefore, coins new words, of necessary expressive quality, and assigns them new places with other words. This shows that the words rise from the idea which the poet wants to express. Bedil says:

اصل معیت کرتا ہوں لفظ سے یاد و ادائش

[The real thing is the meaning because of whose (natural) requirements

The word and its peculiarities evolve.]

Only a writer of high standing could have expressed the theory of style, and the cause of a poet's predilection for particular words, in so skilful a manner as Bedil has done in this couplet. This explains how Bedil, as a great poet, gave a rich vocabulary to Persian language.

At this stage it must be reaffirmed that, for the freshness of expression, the necessary prerequisite is not a new idea. All that is implied in the above paragraph is this that if a poet expresses those thoughts, which he has lived through, then his Art is inevitably endowed with the characteristic of freshness. We know Bedil studied the philosophies of the mystics and other thinkers, and on comparison we find that *basically* no new addition has been made by him, but, as because of mystical experience all those thoughts have been saturated with emotions, he was able to express them in a most poetical way. Also Bedil expressed mostly those sensations, emotions, and thoughts which he had gained as a result of his actual acquaintance with life, i.e. actual experience of the world in its varied aspects. All this was fresh, and, therefore, he expressed it in a style overflowing with fresh, limpid diction.

To resume our discussion. In his quest for suitable words, most often Bedil finds out the predestined word for a thought, and uses it so adroitly that the thought becomes his special property. In his poem 'Irfan', when Bedil talks about Adam's fall from the heaven, he writes the following verse.

چون دریں تیره خاکدان افتاد      آنای ز آسمان      افتاد

[When he fell into th's dark earthly dungeon,

It was a sin which came down from the skies.]

The vivid and visual words used so effectively have made this thought a property of Bedil. The metaphor is so apt that it cannot be replaced. The thought and its expression have become the life-blood of each other.

Bedil is fully aware of the final relation that is established between form and substance. He remarks that as spring means colour and fragrance brought inextricably together, expression and thought are also similarly interrelated. He says :

زربز هورت و معنی دل خود جمع کن بیدل

بهار اینبساط سامانش درون برونی برون رنگی

[Bedil, soothe your heart with regard to the secret of form and meaning.

Here is the advent of spring, sweet smell within and charming colour without.]

It was like uniting the soul and body -giving a beautiful thought a beautiful form. Bedil followed this principle of style all through his life and his use of appropriate similes and metaphors was also determined by it. Similarly, his metres are also in keeping with the general spirit of his thoughts. They have the peculiarity of naturalness. They are the natural tone of the mood of the poet. For example the metre of the following verse expresses sadness—the mood which predominated while writing the poem :

چیست این باغ و این شگفتنیا      مر آبی و میر روغنیا

[What is th's garden and its blossoming?

On y oil sp't on the surface of water.]

In this way Bedil employs metres which suit his different moods. Thus, in Bedil, as he himself says, the thought and its expression, i.e. the words, similes, metaphors, and metres in which the thoughts are couched, all grow and develop spontaneously.

We observe vigour and force also in Bedil's style. This vitality is the result of various causes. His firm convictions and his sublime theme are the two factors, hints about which have already been made. But there is another fundamental ingredient of the poet's spirit which should not be overlooked in this connection. It is his

masculin' v. His race, the traditions of his family, and his personal courage had made his mind very masculine, and this peculiarity quite naturally found its way into his diction. In addition to this Bedil has used various artifices for making his style vigorous and emphatic. An account of such like artifices was made while enumerating the literary peculiarities of Bedil's *Ghazals*. I may add at this place that Bedil is very fond of repeating the same word for this purpose. In the *Musnawī Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, he tells Man that he is an enigma waiting for solution, and uses the artifice of repetition of words to lend force to his statement :

معانی . معانی . معانی      اگر خواهی کشودن چشم بکش

[You are an enigma, an enigma, an enigma.

If you like to solve it, open your eyes.]

Here the 'm' sound itself is very emphatic, and stress on the word معانی has been laid in the first hemistich with the object of drawing pointed attention to what is being said in the second. A large number of similar verses can be quoted.

We have considered so far how Bedil's expression came to have life and power. We have yet to find out how he was poetically inspired while writing his poems. With a view to this we must consider the circumstances in which Bedil wrote his poems. He wrote his *Tilism-e-Hayat* in 1000 A.H. (1569-70 A.D.), and there he has told how the central idea of the poem developed in his mind. One night he lay awake and tried to find out a motif, until an idea occurred, but it was not so vivid in the beginning. He focussed it and grew imaginative. This visualisation moved him, and very soon he was charged with inspiration. We find here that concentration was the cause of creative experience. Now we turn to another type of poetic inspiration. Bedil went to Bairāt with Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, and he was so much impressed by the scenery of the place that this beautiful *Magnavī Tūr-e-Ma'rifat* was the result. In the case of this poem we find that the creative urge was the outcome of influences received from without. There are many more poems, of this nature, which Bedil wrote, when he had seen some scene or read some poem or verse of another poet. If we study Bedil's poems one by one we find that inspiration was either the result of reflection or that of the impact of some outward object or event upon the personality of the poet, and he was moved to supreme poetical activity. But as the poet's personality was coherent his principal theme remained unaltered.

I give below two verses of Bedil which refer to the two distinctive processes pointed out in the foregoing paragraph. The first is :

شب مهتاب ذوق گریه دارد فیضها بیدل  
 کما میں بیخبر روغن ندارد از چنین شیریں

[In a moonlit night our relish for weeping has abundant food,

Is there some ignorant person who will not get oil (ghee) from such like milk.]

This emphasises the objective nature of creative inspiration. The second verse is :

گر همه بر خاک بچند عشق حسن آرد برون  
 کزاش فرهاد آخر کرد شیریں سنگ را

[Love may roll always on earth. It will still create Beauty. The untiring efforts of Farhād ultimately turned the stone into Shirīn (شیریں—his beloved.)]

This refers to the subjective element in all artistic creations. It will be noted that Bedil did not contribute to any particular view, but he realised the significance of both objective and subjective origin of Art.

Having reached here we are in a position to visualise Bedil's creative process, hints about which have been made by the poet himself here and there in his works<sup>1</sup>. A certain incident, or a poem, or a verse, or some thought has caused a tingling shivering feeling to run through his body, and his imagination has been set ablaze. He is expressing the genuine and real feelings through which he is passing at the time. The feelings may be of joy or sorrow, he is experiencing the consequent pleasure or pain. The thought is developing as the poem grows. He has to find adequate phraseology, and then the ideas are so numerous, rather infinite, that they cannot be contained in finite words. And sometimes the pen-picture, he wants to draw, is too ideal to take the form of words, and he says painfully :

بیدل بیاد\* سرو تو در خون طہید لیک  
 موزون نگشت یکہ الب از منق آہ او

[In his longing for your cypress-like stature Bedil rolled in blood,

But by his constant practice in sighing he could not produce a single lovely Alaf.]

So long as these creative pangs continue, he has no rest, and when the experience is over, his poem is also complete.

We have seen how Bedil's poems came into being. He speaks from a bleeding heart and, therefore, his poems must move others.

1. *Kulliyat-e-Safdar*, *Ta'imm-e-Havarat*, 8 ; *Tar-e-Ma'rifat*, 2 ; *Ghahār 'Uṣṣur*,

بدل خونیں چگرم بلبل بی بال و پر  
لیست دریں غمگداه "نالہ" من بی اثری

[Bedil! my liver is bleeding. I am a nightingale without wings and feathers.

Hence my groans cannot fail to move the people in this distressed world.]

But to appreciate his poems one must approach them with a sympathetic heart :

تب و تابِ اشک چکیدہ ام کہ رسد بمعنی "رزمن"  
ز شکست شیشہ "دل مکر شنوی حدیث گداز من"

[My agitation is that of a dropped tear.

Who can reach the depth of my secret ?

Perhaps by having a broken heart

You might understand my woeful tale.]

These are Bedil's confessions. After studying them try to imagine the anguish through which the poet passed during his life. His was indeed a most afflicted soul.

The origin of a poem displays the emotive and imaginative powers of a poet, and its structural characteristics show the synthetic side of his mind—it shows how his mind developed a poem into a harmonious whole. Persian lyrics are rarely the result of consistent thought, and there unity is generally maintained by the measure and rhyme. Bedil's lyrics are not an exception to the rule, although he has got a large number of such lyrics in which this defect has been avoided. His *Rubā'is*, fragments, panegyrics, and quintets (مخمضات), like those of the other Persian poets, express individually an uninterrupted mood or inspiration. His *Tarkīb Band* is a loose poem, while the *Tarjil Band* is perfectly coherent—the unifying element lying in the idea contained in the recurring verse (ترجیع).

But there were comparatively shorter poems. Difficulty arises with the longer ones, i. e. the *Maḡnavis*, where so many emotional moods are to be strung together. If a poet succeeds there, he is fit to be called a major poet. Bedil's first *Maḡnavi* is *Afshar-e-A'ẓam* which he wrote in 1078 A. H. (1667 A. D.), at the age of twentyfour. As it was the poet's maiden attempt its plot is not so unified, but as the poem progresses one feels the presence of an unexpressed cohesion because of unity of thought and similarity of emotion. His *Tilism-e-Hairat* was written two years later. Being an allegory, this poem is a perfect model of harmony and concord. Interest is kept alive by action, dialogue, and visual imagery. The third long poem of Bedil is *Tūr-e-Ma'arifat* which was

1. Cf. Read, *Collected Essays*, 57. "The distinction between a major and a minor poet is the capacity to write a long poem successful y."

written towards the end of the eleventh century of H jra. As the poet says at the end of the poem :

شیر را بهاری قلمی بستم

[I painted spring out of a thought]

he conceived an idea on seeing the charming scenery of Sairāt, and this poem, which is a nice specimen of natural poetry, came into being. It is well knit as I described a simple emotional mode though the result is picturesque and rich in details. The last and the longest poem of Bedil is the *Masnavi 'Irfa'* which was completed in 1124 A.H. (1712 A.D.). In fact, it has two *Masnavis*: *Masnavi* (The Divine Mirror) and the '*Irfa'* proper. The former is more philosophical and less poetical. It is informative and conceptual, and is devoid of action or illustrative stories. The poet has tried to introduce imagery at various places, but as the theme of the poem is the "Circle of Descent and Ascent"—a most abstract theme, it makes very tedious reading. The poem, therefore, has coherence but at the cost of poetical cement. '*Irfa'* proper is the longest and best poem of Bedil. Like a panorama, it unfolds a number of fascinating scenes, many stories of abiding interest, diverse characters full of life and individuality, and different kinds of poetry: natural, romantic, epic, and philosophical. It is, besides, most poetical and least philosophical. The form and the thought balance each other beautifully, and at times the expression is marvellous in point of depth and clearness of thought, intensity of emotion, and economy of words. The poet is in fact at his best in this poem. It was really extremely difficult to create unity in this diversity but the poet succeeded by sticking to the dominating idea—a story in the form of a dialogue which more often changes into a lively discourse. A study of the structure of all these poems has shown that Bedil ranks among Ferdusi, Rumi, Nizami, and other major Persian poets who were very successful in writing longer poems.

In the preceding paragraph a reference was made to the different kinds of poetry found in Bedil's *Masnavi 'Irfa'*. I must tell a basic thing about all these kinds of Bedil's verse. Before doing so, however, I like to emphasise the point that Bedil not only loved and described the beautiful scenes he saw while journeying about, but also he loved the country in which he found them. India, a land of light, colour and scent, has received unequalled praise from him. He likes its beech-leaves also, and has described them beautifully at various places.

Now the basic point about Bedil's poetical compositions. If we go through his works, from one end to the other, we find that his poems are permeated with his philosophical thought. While speaking about his *Almanach-e-Jafar* I have already shown how Bedil's belief about Man being the epitome of creation runs as an under-current in the poem. Taking our cue from these remarks, if we study Bedil's *Qasas* or his *Qasidas*, etc., we will find that the same belief is reflected in so many other verses.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, when Bedil says, "We see only the charms of Man in the Moon, the stars, the brilliant twilight and in the colourful rainbow and the beautiful rose-garden," we should not conclude it is mere sentimentalism, but we must know Bedil, the thinker, is telling that Man is the spirit<sup>3</sup> whence all things have their origin. In Bedil's works there is an overwhelming large number of verses which only a philosopher habituated to thought could write. We see that the background of his words consists of considered process of thought; and his epithets and metaphors, though highly poetical, are in reality related to his philosophy. The first two pages of the *Almanach-e-Jafar*, and his *Qasida*<sup>4</sup> in which Man has been addressed, may be studied for this purpose. It will be found that Bedil's rhetoric is very powerful, and a closer study would show at the same time that it is compact with thought. We may, therefore, read any type of Bedil's verse, we are sure to find the poet-philosopher working there.

As Khushgū and S.A. Vahid have remarked, it goes to Bedil's credit that he expressed the abstract thought of Ibn al Arabi and other writers of his type, in an extremely practical way, using all the elegant expression of the *Tarziq* poets. Bedil's art is, therefore, a most coherent system of thought expressed in a most elegant way. It is clear that Bedil made a great experiment in Persian literature. He fused mystical thought, philosophical speculations, and sweetness of expressions in a way that they became

1. Page 274 *supra*.

2. For example study the following verses:

دل هر قطره گردا بست خواص حقیقت را  
 بامل درین هر مو گره صد بار می بیند  
 خیرال آشفگی تحمل اگر شود صرف یک تحمل  
 دل عیاری و صد چمن کل نگاه موری و صد چراغان

These poetical expressions have at their bottom the idea that Man is a microcosmos in appearance but a macrocosmos in essence.

3. Nicholson, R. A. *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, 1931, p. 13.

4. *Kalimat-e-Jafar*, *Qasida*.

5. Khushgū, in *Almanach*, May, 1942, Volume, 3A, *Irān, His Art, and Thought*, 144.

vital for one another. As such Bedil belongs to that class of poets who have earned everlasting fame for expressing philosophical thoughts in a most poetical way.

This basic point about Bedil's verse discloses his attitude towards Art also. He was not one of those poets whose main object is Art itself. He used his skill in writing poetry for the attainment of a nobler object which lay beyond Art. His contemporary<sup>2</sup> poets, who were proud of their Tāzagūi, looked simply to niceties of expression, but Bedil had something else in view. He said:

عرض مطلب دیگر و اظهار صنعت دیگرست  
بدیل از آئینه نتوان ساخت وضع جام را

[To secure expression of thoughts is something else, but to make a display of skill is totally different.

O Bedil, it is impossible to design a cup from a mirror.]

He wanted that his Art should serve him only in expressing his thoughts or, according to him, "communication is style." He had a mission in life—a mission to regenerate mankind, and he wished that Art must be subservient to it. Other poets wrote panegyrics of the Emperors and princes, and expressed therein their false feelings. But Bedil did not like to be false to himself. He expressed only his genuine feelings in everything he wrote, and, therefore, he called himself a poet who would eulogise only his nature. He wrote neither the encomiums of the monarchs, nor he worshipped the deity of Art, but employed his extraordinary poetical talents for the advancement of human good, and this too in an age when very few, if any, thought that Art could be consecrated to higher aims.

### *The End*

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1. In this connection study: Read, H., *Collected Essays*, 69-88; Santayana, *Three Philosophical Poets*. Herbert Read has successfully shown that philosophy is not inconsistent with poetry. He says that as poetry of this kind is the result of the triumph of reason in bending all knowledge and experience into one coherent system, it is very powerful. It expresses thoughts about whose significance we feel most intensely.

2. For this purpose read *Kalimārah Shu'arā* by Sarkhūsh.



# APPENDIX A

| Serial No. | Ishārāt-o-Hayāt Opening Lines | Page | Subject-matter                           | From where selected Name of the Book | Page    |
|------------|-------------------------------|------|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------|
| 1.         | زبانم قابل حمد خدا شد.        | 2    | Praise of the Holy Prophet.              | <i>Tilism-e-Hairat</i>               | 6       |
| 2.         | سحر آئینه هم پرواز دل بود.    | 2    | Life universally found.                  | <i>Tūr-e-Ma'rifat</i>                | 8       |
| 3.         | نصیحتگری وعظ آماده دشت.       | 2    | Love is all inclusive.                   | <i>Muḥit-e-A'zam</i> Ms.             | f.996   |
| 4.         | شبی داشتم وجد بیتابی.*        | 2    | Symbolic nature of Bedil's wine.         | do                                   | F.104s. |
| 5.         | بگوش نفد منج محفل راز.        | 3    | Water, fire, stone explained.            | <i>Tūr-e-Ma'rifat</i>                | 3       |
| 6.         | شبی کز گریه طوفان کاریم بود.  | 3    | Poverty (فقر) as the essence of joy.     | do                                   | 7       |
| 7.         | سر قطره را هو در گرفت.        | 3    | The part points to the whole.            | <i>Muḥit-e-A'zam</i>                 | 7       |
| 8.         | زنکبت سرشتان دل افسرده.*      | 3    | Meanness denounced                       | do                                   | 7       |
| 9.         | ز چشم طالبان دانش آهنگ        | 3    | No lethargy in Nature.                   | <i>Tūr-e-Ma'rifat</i>                | 7       |
| 10.        | گذر کرد مجنون لیلای خیال      | 3    | Beloved appears everywhere.              | <i>Muḥit-e-A'zam</i> Ms.             | f.486   |
| 11.        | شبی بر تیغ کوهی بود جایم      | 3    | Every object manifests beauty and unity. | <i>Tūr-e-Ma'rifat</i>                | 10      |

*Muḥit-e-A'zam* Ms., Panjab University library No. 1524. This manuscript has been used for all references in this Appendix to the Ms. copy of the *Majnavi*.

| Serial No. | Ishārāt-o-Hikāyat Opening Lines | Page | Subject-matter                                                     | From where selected Name of the Book | Page   |
|------------|---------------------------------|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------|
| 12         | شیء بودم قدح یمای حالی          | 3    | The rich are stone-hearted as their gold is extracted from stones. | <i>Tūr-e-Ma'rifat</i>                | 12     |
| 13.        | شیء سرگرم عبرت شر نگهم          | 4    | Silence should come with death alone.                              | do                                   | 19     |
| 14.        | الهی تهمت آباد طهوریم           | 4    | Illusory nature of life.                                           | <i>Tilism-e-Hairat</i>               | 4      |
| 15.        | شهم زنی صبح ز آینه              | 4    | Love of the phenomenal.                                            | <i>Muhīt-e-A'zam</i> Ms.             | f.79a. |
| 16.        | شنیدم ادب کرد مولای روم         | 4    | Fastidious regard for dress.                                       | do                                   | f.80a. |
| 17.        | الهی حیرت مازم چه باشد          | 5    | Prayer to God                                                      | <i>Tilism-e-Hairat</i>               | 5      |
| 18.        | شیء داشتم میر سید               | 4    | Self-annihilation.                                                 | <i>Muhīt-e-A'zam</i> Ms.             | f.95a  |
| 19.        | یکی غافل از رنگ ما و توئی       | 5    | Unity of Self.                                                     | do                                   | f.108a |
| 20.        | محرکاهی از چشم بیدار نیم        | 5    | Unity in Plurality.                                                | do                                   | f.130b |
| 21.        | ز ارباب تحقیق صاحب دلی          | 5    | Duality an illusion                                                | do                                   | f.134a |
| 22.        | شنیدم حرفی ترسم هرست            | 6    | Time is fleeting.                                                  | do                                   | f.137a |
| 23.        | زگلزار معنی بقی پشد             | 6    | Discover the Self                                                  | do                                   | f.140a |
| 24         | شیء روح منصورم آمد بخواب        | 6    | Attributes nothing but Essence Itself.                             | do                                   | f.148a |
| 25.        | به بازار شد ابلهی بے خبر        | 7    | A credulous person.                                                | do                                   | f.149a |
| 26.        | صولی بآئین کار آ گهاں           | 7    | A braggart.                                                        | do                                   | f.156b |
| 27.        | ز تحقیق اسرار بیگانه            | 8    | Existent Beings are God's words.                                   | do                                   | f.182a |
| 28.        | شیء در طریقه فکر سخن            | 8    | Speech prevails everywhere                                         | do                                   | f.182b |
| 29.        | بد شتی یکی از شکار افغان        | 8    | Self the sole Reality.                                             | do                                   | f.183b |
| 30.        | عشق از مشت خاک آدم ریخت         | 8    | Universe created for Man.                                          | <i>Irfaan</i>                        | 1      |

| Serial No. | Ishārāt-o-Hikāyāt Opening Lines | Page | Subject-matter                             | From where selected Name of the Book | Page |
|------------|---------------------------------|------|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------|
| 31.        | کو دکی نان بدست بازی داشت.      | 8    | While abusing we abuse ourselves.          | 'Irfān                               | 5    |
| 32.        | ای تو هم غبار دشت چمن           | 8    | Creation an illusion                       | do                                   | 7    |
| 33.        | شوکت دستکوه هستی با             | 9    | Life an illusion.                          | do                                   | 10   |
| 34.        | بود کم ظرف از خرد خالی          | 9    | Over-carefulness is ruinous                | do                                   | 13   |
| 35.        | ی عدم زاده وجود طراز            | 9    | The Universe is not-being.                 | do                                   | 41   |
| 36.        | دو کمال انتظام امکانی           | 9    | It is extremely difficult to be a Man      | do                                   | 42   |
| 37.        | چیزت این باغ درگاه رمی          | 10   | Everything in the world is perishable.     | do                                   | 43   |
| 38.        | شعله جوشی بسیر انجمنی           | 10   | Self-annihilation.                         | do                                   | 45   |
| 39.        | چیزت فقر و غنائی ملک وجود       | 11   | Poverty and riches explained.              | do                                   | 49   |
| 40.        | این یکی شمع مجلسی فروخت         | 11   | Present more important than Future.        | do                                   | 49   |
| 41.        | زین بیابان که وحشت انجام است    | 11   | Vain desires.                              | do                                   | 50   |
| 42.        | سردگی طبع نشکینی داشت           | 11   | do                                         | do                                   | 52   |
| 43.        | دخمه است این بساط گردوغبار      | 11   | Men are but corpses.                       | do                                   | 53   |
| 44.        | بهر رنگ آفاق صرف است و بس       | 11   | The Universe is an illusion.               | Muḥit-e-A'zam ?                      |      |
| 45.        | ای تردد نسب توکل چند            | 11   | Trust in God not synonymous with idleness. | 'Irfān                               | 53   |
| 46.        | انیب صاحب دعوت برده             | 12   | Shameless people are but ghouls.           | Chahār 'Unsur                        | 10   |
| 47.        | آدمی نظرت است و نظرت تام        | 12   | Elegant expression is a great virtue.      | do                                   | 14   |

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| 48.        | نه همی عقل راست میر کمد.        | 12   | The Fools too have a philosophy of their own.             | <i>'Irfān</i>                          | ?            |
| 49.        | ای ز آنست بیخرد ما از توایم.    | 12   | Duality has no ground.                                    | <i>Chahār 'Unsur</i>                   | 41           |
| 50.        | اندیشه * غیب ما * ضحود است.     | 19   | do                                                        | ?                                      | ?            |
| 51.        | ایندی راز طبع جهل فسون.         | 13   | Vain efforts.                                             | <i>'Irfān</i>                          | 55           |
| 52.        | عاشقی چیست داغ محرومی.          | 13   | Concomitants of love.                                     | do                                     | 67           |
| 53.        | گره راز طبع حرص کین.            | 13   | A rat as the guardian of rats.                            | do                                     | 75           |
| 54.        | گرچه انسان یکشرف راز حسد.       | 14   | What wheat means for Man?                                 | do                                     | 78           |
| 55.        | گرچه عدالت حصار آفتابست.        | 14   | Death inevitable and weakness criminal.                   | do                                     | 84           |
| 56.        | آدمی تا بحرص پا افتد.           | 15   | Greed denounced.                                          | do                                     |              |
| 57.        | عشقی بیدل چون زده.              | 15   | A cruel Beauty.                                           | do                                     |              |
| 58.        | ای شراری گرفته دامن منگ.        | 15   | To lack worth is dangerous.                               | do                                     |              |
| 59.        | یکی دید در گنج میخانه.          | 15   | The consuming Love.                                       | <i>Muḥit-e-A'zam Ms.</i>               | f.69a        |
| 60.        | بذیر مغن دل ز کف داده.          | 15   | do                                                        | do                                     | f.75a        |
| 61.        | این بزدن خیال زندگی.            | 16   | Spiritless life a curse.                                  | <i>Chahār 'Unsur</i>                   | 69           |
| 62.        | ای یا سبب من و ما مشهم.         | 16   | Futility of worldly desires.                              | do                                     | 70           |
| 63.        | صدائسیت پیچیده در کائنات.       | 16   | Universe the result of (Be !)-itself the sound of a word. | do<br><i>Muḥit-e-A'zam Ms.</i>         | 68<br>f.180a |
| 64.        | درین بحر پر کسوت ما و تو.       | 16   | The Universe is but God's word,                           | <i>Chahār 'Unsur</i>                   | 43           |

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|---------------|------------------------------------|------|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|------|
| 65.           | وصف آنپ نیکه شاه مطلق اند.         | 16   | Gnostics praised.                             | <i>Chāhar 'Unsur</i>                          | 46   |
| 66.           | چه محراست این حسن بیرنگ<br>و بود   | 16   | The word - (Be!) -<br>has filled the<br>void. | do                                            | 56   |
| 67.           | دورین گنبد شیشه سادہ رنگ.          | 7    | The world is an<br>illusion.                  | <i>Muḥit-e-A'zam</i>                          |      |
| 68.           | تعالی اللہ چه طوفان بہار است.      | 17   | Description of<br>Spring Season.              | <i>Chāḥār 'Unsur</i>                          | 91   |
| 69.           | ای زبان بخش مشفرت طلبی.            | 18   | Prayer to God.                                | ?                                             | ?    |

## APPENDIX B

### Number of Letters addressed to Different Persons

| No. | Names of the addressees                                | No. of letters addressed |
|-----|--------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1.  | Nawāb <u>Shukrullah Khān</u> I                         | 93                       |
| 2.  | 'Ināyatullah <u>Shākir Khān</u>                        | 48                       |
| 3.  | Lutfullah <u>Shukrullah Khān</u> II                    | 36                       |
| 4.  | Karamullah 'Aqil <u>Khān</u>                           | 15                       |
| 5.  | 'Aqil <u>Khān Rāzī</u>                                 | 10                       |
| 6.  | Husain Qulī <u>Khān</u>                                | 9                        |
| 7.  | Qayyūm <u>Khān</u> Fidāī son of 'Aqil <u>Khān Rāzī</u> | 5                        |
| 8.  | <u>Chīn Qilch Khān</u> Nizāmūl Mulk                    | 5                        |
| 9.  | Maulānā 'Abdul 'Azīz 'Izzat                            | 4                        |
| 10. | Mīrzā Zainul 'Ābidīn.                                  | 4                        |
| 11. | Mīrzā 'Ibādullah                                       | 3                        |
| 12. | Mīrzā Izad Bakhsh Rasā                                 | 3                        |
| 13. | Mīrzā Fazāil son of Mīr Muḥammad Fazl                  | 2                        |
| 14. | Mīrzā Muḥammad Na'im Bakhshī of Bahādur <u>Shāh</u>    | 2                        |
| 15. | Prince A'zam <u>Shāh</u>                               | 1                        |
| 16. | Mīrzā Mu'in                                            | 1                        |
| 17. | <u>Shaikh</u> Muḥammad Māh'                            | 1                        |
| 18. | Mīrzā Dāwar Yār                                        | 1                        |
| 19. | Muḥammad Awwān 'Irfān                                  | 1                        |
| 20. | <u>Shaikh</u> Ghulām Muḥy-ud-Dīn                       | 1                        |
| 21. | Mīr Razī Wahdat                                        | 1                        |
| 22. | Mīān La'ī Muḥammad                                     | 1                        |
| 23. | Rasūl <u>Khān Bāzīl</u>                                | 1                        |
| 24. | Mīrzā Rūḥullah                                         | 1                        |
| 25. | Mīrzā Salman                                           | 1                        |
| 26. | Fattū <u>Khān</u>                                      | 1                        |
| 27. | Mīrzā Kāmgar                                           | 1                        |
| 28. | Husain 'Alī <u>Khān</u> Bahādur                        | 1                        |

| No.   | Names of the addressees to Different Persons | No. of letters addressed |
|-------|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 29.   | Mīr 'Abduṣ Ṣamad <u>Sakhun</u>               | ... 1                    |
| 30.   | Mullā Bāqir Gilānī                           | ... 1                    |
| 31.   | Miān <u>Shāhid</u>                           | ... 1                    |
| 32.   | Mīr <u>Sharaf-ud-Dīn</u>                     | ... 1                    |
| 33.   | Mīrzā Muḥsin                                 | ... 1                    |
| 34.   | Munshī Qā'il <u>Khān</u>                     | ... 1                    |
| 35.   | Mīrzā <u>Khusrau</u> Beg                     | ... 1                    |
| 36.   | Qāzī 'Abdur Raḥīm                            | ... 1                    |
| 37.   | Mīrzā Abul Wiqār                             | ... 1                    |
| 38.   | Mīrzā Fāzil Beg Turk                         | ... 1                    |
| 39.   | Mīrzā Abul <u>Khair</u>                      | ... 1                    |
| 40.   | To a relative                                | ... 2                    |
| 41.   | Anonymous                                    | ... 7                    |
| Total |                                              | ... 27½                  |

N.B The longest letter was written to Mīrzā Faḡāl.

# APPENDIX C

Showing where the Nikat can be found in *Chāhār 'Unsur*

| Number<br>of<br>the Nukta                                                  | Nikat in <i>Kulliyāte Safdari</i> | Page | Page of<br><i>Chāhār</i><br><i>'Unsur</i><br>where<br>found |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| N.B. — Nikat from I to XVIII could not be traced from <i>Chāhār 'Unsur</i> |                                   |      |                                                             |
| XIX ...                                                                    | طبایع را تقلید اوضاع یکدیگر       | 8    | 27                                                          |
| XX ...                                                                     | عارفی داشت درس نسخه دید           | 9    | —                                                           |
| XXI ...                                                                    | افعال مردان را بر مقدمه اقوال     | 9    | —                                                           |
| XXII ...                                                                   | صحبت دانا در عالمیکه              | 9    | 15                                                          |
| XXIII ...                                                                  | نفس رحمانی که اصطلاح اهل تحقیق    | 9    | 61                                                          |
| XXIV ...                                                                   | آتش در طبع جماد                   | 10   | 61                                                          |
| XXV ...                                                                    | چشم پوشیده هر چند فردوس           | 10   | 52                                                          |
| XXVI ...                                                                   | آئینه تحقیق مخبر است              | 11   | 72                                                          |
| XXVII ...                                                                  | نویسهای طرز عبارات                | 11   | 74                                                          |
| XXVIII ...                                                                 | گل کردن رموز غیب و شهادت          | 12   | 69                                                          |
| XXIX ...                                                                   | تا کمر بشکست خود نه بسته          | 13   | 25                                                          |
| XXX ...                                                                    | آدمی بعلت آفسون امل               | 13   | —                                                           |
| XXXI ...                                                                   | زبان لاف را آنقدر                 | 13   | —                                                           |
| XXXII ...                                                                  | آدمی رشته استعداد است             | 14   | 45                                                          |
| XXXIII ..                                                                  | حکم الفقراء کنفس واحده            | 15   | 44                                                          |
| XXXIV ...                                                                  | آنچه از نسخه دل فهم کنی           | 15   | 27                                                          |
| XXXXV ...                                                                  | روح انسانی جوهریست بسیط           | 15   | 8                                                           |
| XXXXVI ...                                                                 | ساز حقیقت از دست مجاز ترا شان     | 16   | 10                                                          |
| XXXXVII ...                                                                | عالمی بوضع خود خورمند است         | 16   | 11                                                          |
| XXXXVIII ...                                                               | مقصود از میر گریبان               | 17   | 51                                                          |
| XXXIX ...                                                                  | طینت آدمی بحکم الناس لیام         | 17   | 51                                                          |
| XL ...                                                                     | اعیان محفل امکان را               | 17   | 92                                                          |
| XLI ...                                                                    | باهمه بی تعینی                    | 18   | —                                                           |
| XLII ...                                                                   | معنی کرم در جمیع احوال            | 18   | 79                                                          |
| XLIII ...                                                                  | تمثال ظهور احوال                  | 18   | 72                                                          |



| Number<br>of<br>the Nukta | Nikāt in <i>Kutlīyāt-e-Safdarī</i>   | Page | Page of<br><i>Chahār</i><br><i>‘Unsur</i><br>where<br>found |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| XLIV                      | در عنصر آباد کیفیت ظهور              | 19   | 70                                                          |
| XLV                       | در چار موی کیفیت ظهور                | 19   | 61                                                          |
| XLVI                      | تأثیر در طبایع ارباب کرم             | 19   | 79                                                          |
| XLVII                     | گفتگوی ارواح و مثل                   | 19   | 92                                                          |
| XLVIII                    | تا نسخه 'ندیشه' هستی' ما و من        | 19   | 93                                                          |
| XLIX                      | عالم ایجاد سیرگه جلوه ابداد          | 19   | 93                                                          |
| L                         | از بزرگی پرسیدند که بحکم آن مع العسر | 20   | 80                                                          |
| LI                        | کیفیت سخارا بنراکتی سرشته اند        | 20   | 81                                                          |
| LII                       | شیرازه اجزای حواس                    | 20   | 93                                                          |
| LIII                      | معنی نمایان نسخه اسرار               | 20   | 12                                                          |
| LIV                       | روح انسانی شاهدیست لا یمیی           | 21   | 81                                                          |
| LV                        | کمال انشی که جامع حقیقت جمال و جلال  | 21   | 33                                                          |
| LVI                       | ورود سخن نزول ملائک است              | 22   | 60                                                          |
| LVII                      | از بزرگی پرسیدند خواب افضل است       | 23   | 53                                                          |
| LVIII                     | عام از درشنیهای طبایع                | 23   | 20                                                          |
| LIX                       | از زمین تا آسمان یک در قبض           | 24   | 36                                                          |
| LX                        | حسن اگر پستایش آئینه پردازد          | 24   | 44                                                          |
| LXI                       | غیب مطلق سرشته است                   | 24   | 53                                                          |
| LXII                      | جمع خلایق بحکم مصلحت طبیعی           | 25   | 79                                                          |
| LXIII                     | اینکه عالمی میخواهیم صفحه دلی        | 25   | 68                                                          |
| LXIV                      | خاطلی از معنی می گفت                 | 26   | 60                                                          |
| LXV                       | حصول نعمت کمال بی وساطت              | 26   | 24                                                          |
| LXVI                      | تحریر و تقریر مراتب اکثری            | 26   | 43                                                          |
| LXVII                     | از اراده حق چیزی ظهور                | 27   | 70                                                          |
| LXVIII                    | توجه خاطر با افت فقا                 | 27   | 62                                                          |
| LXIX                      | صعترین حالتی که هیچ متر جلدی         | 28   | —                                                           |
| LXX                       | مجره کاران امتحان کده شعور           | 28   | 100                                                         |

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## Errata

| <i>Page</i> | <i>Line</i> | <i>Incorrect</i>                          | <i>Correct</i>                            |
|-------------|-------------|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| 2           | Footnote 8  | Page 3 supra                              | Page 1 supra                              |
| 3           | 8           | Behar                                     | Bohar                                     |
| 4           | Footnote 6  | Pages 12, 23, 26, 29<br>infra<br>occasion | Pages 16, 21, 23, 25<br>infra<br>occasion |
| 8           | 12          |                                           |                                           |
| 13          | 10          | چشم تراش                                  | چشم تواس                                  |
| 14          | 30          | exercising                                | exercising                                |
| 14          | Footnote 2  | Page 11 supra                             | Page 9 supra                              |
| 14          | " 5         | Page 5 supra                              | Page 3 supra                              |
| 17          | 8           | هست اندر تری تو                           | هست اندر توی تو                           |
| 18          | 21          | در قضا افتاده است                         | در قضا افتاده است                         |
| 18          | 31          | hidden                                    | hidden                                    |
| 19          | 24          | Qalandar                                  | Mirzā Qalandar                            |
| 19          | Footnote 5  | See supra                                 | See page 9 supra                          |
| 20          | 26          | از خود رفتنی                              | از خود رفتنی                              |
| 21          | 26          | جنیبت جنونی                               | جنیبت جنونی                               |
| 21          | 26          | منبر هوش                                  | منبر هوش                                  |
| 22          | 8           | از عزم                                    | از عزم                                    |
| 22          | Footnote 2  | Page 93 infra                             | Page 23 infra                             |
| 27          | 32          | گرد در خط                                 | در گرد خط                                 |
| 27          | Footnote 4  | See infra                                 | See page 93 infra                         |
| 34          | " 1         | page 22 supra                             | page 15 supra                             |
| 34          | 23          | تاودانهارا                                | تاودانهارا                                |
| 35          | 6           | trickles                                  | trickles                                  |
| 37          | Footnote 1  | See supra                                 | See page 15 supra                         |
| 37          | " 2         | See supra                                 | See pages 15-17, 25-27 supra              |
| 38          | " 1         | see supra                                 | See page 21 supra                         |
| 39          | 3           | هیچ وجه                                   | هیچ وجه                                   |
| 39          | 36          | contests.                                 | contests.                                 |
| 43          | Footnote 3  | See infra                                 | See page 93 infra                         |
| 49          | 11          | میراجیب                                   | میراجیب                                   |
| 50          | 7           | Intelligence                              | Intelligences.                            |

| Page | Line                | Incorrect             | Correct                       |
|------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 62   | 14                  | کشته زربخ             | کشته زربخ                     |
| 63   | 18                  | سبزه حسن              | سبزه حسن                      |
| 69   | 9                   | بدعا                  | مدعا                          |
| 74   | 32                  | Shākir                | Shākir Khān                   |
| 75   | 29                  | public                | pubic                         |
| 99   | 7                   | خاکندان               | خاکدان                        |
| 99   | Footnote 1, line 13 | نژی                   | نژی                           |
| 102  | 5                   | better depository     | better                        |
| 112  | Footnote 1, line 8  | pearl                 | pearl                         |
| 137  | 7                   | لاله ہم               | لاله بہم                      |
| 137  | 26                  | herefora              | therefore                     |
| 140  | last line           | پارسہ                 | پا رسد                        |
| 141  | last but one line   | سربرد                 | سر برآرد                      |
| 141  | last line           | نگامی                 | نگامی و                       |
| 142  | 2                   | signed                | feigned                       |
| 142  | 5                   | بگرزد                 | بگہر زد                       |
| 145  | 24                  | کض الخیل              | رکض الخیل                     |
| 147  | 3                   | ہمد سم رسد            | ہمد سم رسد                    |
| 149  | 15                  | سبک شناسی             | سبک ہندی                      |
| 149  | Footnote 2          | pages 45 and 34 supra | pages 40 and 58 supra         |
| 149  | " 3                 | pages 183-6 supra     | pages 131-33 supra            |
| 150  | " 3                 | page 119 supra        | page 89 supra                 |
| 156  | " 3                 | page 154 supra        | page 155 supra                |
| 166  | 2                   | لردون متقاب           | لردون متقابہ                  |
| 171  | 11                  | (The fair ones)       | (The fair ones),              |
| 173  | Footnote 1          | page 152 supra        | page 106 supra                |
| 173  | " 4                 | page 172 supra        | page 123 supra                |
| 175  | " 2                 | page 190 supra        | page 136 supra                |
| 176  | " 3                 | (Missing)             | Iqbāl, Zarb-e-Kālm,<br>p. 121 |
| 179  | " 1                 | page 190 supra        | page 136 supra                |
| 180  | " 2                 | page 65 supra         | page 39 supra                 |
| 180  | " 4                 | page 171 supra        | page 123 supra                |
| 181  | " 5                 | page 45 supra         | page 33 supra                 |
| 182  | " 5                 | pages 21-24 supra     | pages 13-18 supra             |
| 187  | last line           | ad smell              | and smell                     |
| 189  | Footnote 1          | page 121 supra        | page 84 supra                 |
| 189  | " 4                 | page 60 supra         | page 43 supra                 |
| 189  | " 5                 | page 56 supra         | page 40 supra                 |
| 190  | " 2                 | page 84 supra         | page 58 supra                 |
| 190  | " 3                 | page 60 supra         | page 42 supra                 |
| 194  | " 1                 | page 91 supra         | page 64 supra                 |
| 195  | " 4                 | page 89 supra         | page 61 supra                 |
| 195  | " 6                 | page 91 supra         | page 63 supra                 |
| 196  | " 3                 | page 92 supra         | page 64 supra                 |

| <i>Page</i> | <i>Line</i>        | <i>Incorrect</i>         | <i>Correct</i>           |
|-------------|--------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 200         | 11                 | check                    | cheek                    |
| 200         | 31                 | paradises                | paradise                 |
| 202         | Footnote 2         | page 247 supra           | page 183 supra           |
| 204         | 7                  | برعرش                    | برغیرش                   |
| 205         | Footnote 5         | page 85 supra            | page 59 supra            |
| 208         | 19                 | eternity                 | eternity                 |
| 208         | Footnote 5         | Ma'arif Library          | Ma'arif Library          |
| 212         | 27                 | rope-ladder              | rope-ladder              |
| 218         | Footnote 2         | p. 360 supra             | p. 265 supra             |
| 219         | " 1                | pages 180-2 supra        | pages 129-30 supra       |
| 219         | " 3                | page 68 supra            | page 47 supra            |
| 222         | " 5                | رود تصفیہ یار            | رود بصفتہ یار            |
| 226         | " 2                | pages 47-9 supra         | page 52 supra            |
| 227         | 36                 | Qasida                   | Qasida                   |
| 227         | Footnote 4         | page 247 supra           | pages 183, 202-3 supra   |
| 229         | 13                 | دل مند                   | دل مند                   |
| 229         | Footnote 3         | page 68 supra            | pages 43-49 supra        |
| 231         | " 6                | page 14 supra            | page 10 supra            |
| 232         | " 2                | page 247 supra           | page 182 supra           |
| 233         | " 3                | pages 283, 286 supra     | pages 209, 213 supra     |
| 238         | " 3                | page 170 supra           | page 121-2 supra         |
| 241         | " 1                | page 142 supra           | page 93 supra            |
| 251         | " 2                | page 142 supra           | page 99 supra            |
| 242         | Last line          | man of integrity         | men of integrity         |
| 250         | Footnote 1         | page 133 supra           | pages 21, 93 supra       |
| 250         | " 3                | page 133 supra           | page 67, supra           |
| 250         | " 4                | page 85 supra            | page 59, supra           |
| 250         | " 5                | page 133 supra           | page 93 supra            |
| 251         | 24                 | factors                  | facts                    |
| 251         | Footnote 4, line 3 | <i>Khazinatul Asfiya</i> | <i>Khazinatul Asfiya</i> |
| 251         | " 5                | page 36 supra            | page 26 supra            |
| 254         | 19                 | مخمل اغیان               | مخمل اغیان               |
| 254         | Footnote 1         | page 39 supra            | page 27 supra            |
| 254         | " 2                | page 76 supra            | page 53 supra            |
| 255         | " 4                | page 255 supra           | page 165 supra           |
| 256         | 26                 | نظر تشی                  | نظر تش                   |
| 256         | Footnote 3         | page 74 supra            | page 51 supra            |
| 258         | " 7                | page 33 supra            | page 93 supra            |
| 258         | " 8                | page 64 supra            | page 45 supra            |
| 258         | " 10               | page 61 supra            | page 43 supra            |
| 258         | " 11               | page 60 supra            | page 42 supra            |
| 259         | " 1                | pages 74, 348 supra      | pages 51, 256 supra      |
| 259         | " 1, line 3        | the third                | the third 'Uqur          |
| 261         | " 1                | page 46 supra            | page 77 supra            |
| 263         | " 3                | page 137 supra           | page 96 supra            |
| 263         | " 5                | page 113 supra           | page 80 supra            |

| <i>Page</i> | <i>Line</i> | <i>Incorrect</i> | <i>Correct</i> |
|-------------|-------------|------------------|----------------|
| 264         | 18          | آورد و بردیم     | آوردہ بردیم    |
| 265         | Footnote 4  | page 200 supra   | page 145 supra |
| 266         | " 2         | page 150 supra   | page 105 supra |
| 268         | 18          | subject          | subjects       |
| 269         | Footnote 2  | pages 46-7 supra | page 33 supra  |
| 272         | 33          | Ibnu'l-'Arabi    | Ibn al-'Arabi  |
| 273         | 1           | 'Ārā             | Ārā            |
| 274         | 9           | Mughal           | Mughul Kings   |
| 274         | Footnote 1  | page 32 supra    | page 22 supra  |
| 274         | " 4         | page 137 supra   | page 96 supra  |
| 283         | " 1         | page 284 supra   | page 203 supra |
| 284         | " 1         | page 274 supra   | page 202 supra |

